University of Alberta

How is Art and Art Education Relevant for the Construction of a Tanzanian National Cultural Identity within the Context of a Hegemonic Globalism?

by

Leonard Charles Mwenesi ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Secondary Education

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring 1998

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For my Loving
mother
Chitakamiye Mwenesi
and my
Loving father
Mwaluko Mwenesi

For my Loving wife
Ekilia
and our Beloved children
Mwendwa
Zawadi
Niza
Nyaso

Abstract

The purpose of the study was to attempt to understand the role of art and art education in the construction of Tanzania's contemporary cultural identity and politics.

The fast advancing contemporary global communication systems are making inter-intra-and trans-cultural influencing within and among nations easier and faster than ever before. Western media and communication systems such as satellite television, internet systems, videos, newspapers, radio and trans-continental air-lines are increasingly bringing peoples and cultures of the world closer. Such easy global intermingling intensifies both the positive and negative influences Western Civilization has on the social, economic and cultural developments of Third World countries. Western countries own and control most of the global media and communication networks. Such ownership and control place Third World countries on the receiving end and hence make them susceptible to continued social, economic and cultural domination by the West. Being aware of the postmodern global situation, this study attempted to bring to light the conditions and contradictions that surround art and art education in Tanzania. The study centred on investigating whether or not art and art education do make any remarkable contributions towards the construction of Tanzania's cultural identity.

The study employed qualitative methods of investigation, using both semi-structured and unstructured open-ended guiding questions. Extensive in-depth interviews with respondents from several Tanzanian institutions were used to gather relevant information. Observations of art production and classes in various institutions were also done. Relevant published and unpublished documents were analyzed. Data was gathered from individuals and institutions that were closely dealing with the production, teaching and development of art and art education.

The research pointed out that art and art education, if well valued and intergrated in various national sectors, can play a big role in Tanzania's cultural identity construction politics. However, it was revealed that art and art education in Tanzania face numerous constraints that hinder both creation and meaningful teaching and learning. Under such circumstances art can not offer its full contributions towards national cultural identity construction. In the conclusion suggestions are given to help alleviate the constraints and contradictions.

Acknowledgement

My first and foremost thanks need to go to my supervisor Dr. jan. jagodzinski, who spent a lot of his precious time and energy, in guiding and helping me to reach and achieve this level of intellectual and academic development.

I am also oblidged to thank my loving wife, Ekilia, for her love, patience and encouragement during the eight years of my study in Canada. My sincere appreciation also need to go to my beloved children, Mwendwa, Zawadi, Niza and Nyaso for their encouragement and the lonely time they had spent during my absence. Mwendwa especially needs a special mention for managing our home while she was studying at high school. I need as well to thank my sister Emily, my sister in law Kulwa, and Cosmas for all they have done while staying with our children when me and my wife were in Canada. I, as well, have to thank my mother Chitakamiye, my father Mwaluko and my uncle Matonya (William) for the endless encouragement they have given me to pursue academics since my childhood.

My appreciation, like wise, need to go to Professor Jorge Frascara for enabling me to get admission into the University of Alberta Department of Art and Design in January 1990. The same gratitude need to reach Dr. Sol Sigurdson for initiating and facilitating my admission into the Department of Secondary Education in January 1992. Dr. Myer Horowitz needs to be thanked for the fatherly and academic guidance he has given me during my entire stay in Canada.

Secondly I need to thank the Canadian Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan for providing me with the precious financial assistance that has enabled me to undertake and complete my Doctoral studies. The Canadian International Development Research Centre, as well, need to receive my sincere gratitude for funding my Master of Design Degree, a chance which eventually made my entrance into Doctoral studies possible. I am, like wise, indebted to thank The Department of Secondary Education for providing me with needy financial assistance in the form of Research Assistantship.

I need also to thank all Department of Secondary Education members of staff and Graduate Students for the help and friendly treatment I have received

during the long time I have spent with them. Vanessa Ianson's timely assistance with word processing problems is especially highly appreciated.

Lastly, my sincere appreciation need to reach all my examining committee for the tiring work they have done.

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CHAPTER ONE

National Cultural Identity and Art

1.1 Global Identity Crisis

Tanzania's past and present efforts to construct a national cultural identity have been and are continuing to be influenced by the hegemonic activities of global "super power cultures". Fast advancing communication systems that bring together people of varying cultural identities have essentially been responsible for this complexity in constructing a Tanzanian national identity. Global communication systems have vastly improved from the time people used to walk from place to place to the present era of high-tech-electronic satellite systems. Today's communication technology easily brings people together regardless of the distances that separate them. This advancement in communication systems enables people of multicultural backgrounds to co-exist, learn and influence one another easily. This unstable, continually changing co-existence of people of multicultural backgrounds has made individual and social identity construction complex and difficult to deal with. The question of identity construction at individual, societal and national levels are presently a global issue and not limited to Tanzania and other developing countries. In fact, the problem is at its peak in developed countries where the intermixture and co-existence of multicultural peoples is at an alarming increase. For instance, the United States of America, Canada, Britain and France are at present having problems in dealing with the complexities of making people of multicultural backgrounds live together peacefully; to be of value to one another and to their respective nations. Germany as well is faced with multicultural conflicts resulting form the reunification of the former East and West Germany as well as from the presence of migrant workers. Futhermore, all European countries are nowadays confronted with great difficulties in dealing with the increased mixing of people with multicultural backgrounds resulting from the dissolution of the Eastern block.

With the case of Tanzania, the problem of constructing a national cultural identity is made difficult mainly due to the continuous inflow - outflow of people from foreign countries who enter the country on trade missions, tourism, and other governmental and non-governmental links. Tanzanians also, though in a smaller number, go to other countries for study, and trade missions. National cable Television has recently been established. Many of its programs, such as the American soap operas, are heavily loaded with foreign cultural products and this introduces further complications. On the other hand, the readily available imported entertainment products such as music in audio and video cassettes make the infiltration of foreign cultural values into the Tanzanian culture unavoidable. Foreign fashion industry products, including many other imported consumer products, are drastically changing the tastes and values of city dwellers and other rural people who happen to afford them. As a result, Tanzanians, especially the young generation living in cities like Dar-es-salaam, are increasingly assuming multi or split identities. Many urban dwellers linger in the midst of fast changing postmodern city lifestyles while on the other hand desperately clinging to local life styles. The reasons for this dilemma in lifestyles and high tendency toward split identities construction is central to my study.

1.2 What is Cultural Identity?

So as to have a better sense of the Tanzanian situation of cultural identity construction, it is worth examining the term "cultural identity". Cultural identity generally refers to the qualities that make a particular culture relatively unique i.e. the various social, economic and political norms and values associated with the several kinds of mental, physical and spiritual activities that in totality make a particular culture exist relatively distinctly from another. In this sense the term "culture" is used to denote the totality of the manner and means of human social action and interaction (physical, moral and spiritual) in a particular social formation and with the environment within which that society continues to produce and reproduce itself from generation to generation. Bruner (1990) understands culture in terms of its role in human society. He asserts that:

> ... it is culture, not biology, that shapes human life and the human mind, that gives meaning to action by situating its underlying intentional states in an interpretive system. It does this by imposing the patterns inherent in the culture's symbolic systems - its language and discourse modes, the forms of logical and narrative explication, and the patterns of mutually dependent communal life. (p. 34)

Culture is here responsible for the construction of individual and social human behaviour in the manner that people are able to live their lives within particular social systems. Spradley (1980) attempts to explain culture by referring to the activities of ethnographers. He contends that:

> ...when ethnographers study other cultures, they must deal with three fundamental aspects of human experience: what people do, what people know, and the things people make and use. When each of these are learned and shared by members of some group, we speak of them as cultural behaviour, cultural knowledge and cultural artifacts. ... I will define culture as the acquired knowledge people use to interpret experience and generate behaviour. (p. 6)

It is through culture, of which people are part and parcel, that a particular society gains possibilities of directions and re-directions of the type of life to live and the type of life to be lived in the future.

Fanon (1963) understands culture through its role in a nation, claiming that:

> . . . culture is first the expression of a nation, the expression of its preferences, of its taboos and of its patterns. It is at every stage of the whole of society that the taboos, values and patterns are formed. A national culture is the sum total of all these appraisals; it is the result of internal and external tensions exerted over society as a whole and also at every level of that society. (p.196)

For this matter, it is impossible to find or even visualize a society without a culture. Culture is what enables an individual or society to exist. Spradley (1980) quotes Flake :

> Culture is not simply a cognitive map that people acquire, in whole or in part, more or less accurately, and then learn to read. People are not just map-readers; they are map-makers. People are cast out into imperfectly chartered, continually revised sketch maps. Culture does not provide a cognitive map, but rather a set of principles for map making and navigation. Different cultures are like different schools of navigation designed to cope with different terrains and seas. (p. 9)

Cultures are constantly changing, always susceptible to change in response to human action and interaction with the environment. Ultimately, however, the definition of culture remains allusive, since there is always an unsaid intuitively known supposition that binds people together.

1.3 Cultural Identity Construction

After having a sense of what culture entails, it is worth considering what is involved in identity construction of a society. The construction of a cultural identity is a social phenomenon and the individual plays a central role in it. In a society, it is the individual or the self who lives, and it is through living and interacting with other selfs and the environment that this self learns the means and manner of existence. For this matter, cultural identity construction starts at the level of the self. One is socialized into a culture.

Through living and reflecting on his or her life experiences the individual progressively, consciously or unconsciously, constructs his or her own identity. Kerby, (1991) when discussing self identity puts emphasis on life experiences of the self.

> I do not think that what we call our self or our identity can be adequately considered outside this temporal and therefore historical framework, outside the time of our lives. When we ask someone *who* they are, this question generally comes down to a recounting of their passage through time, their autobiography or self narrative. (p. 15)

The self and culture share a symbiotic relationship. While the self is a product of the culture of the place where a person lives or once lived, culture is a product of the historical communal action and interaction of individuals or selfs with the environment of a specified setting, together with the means and manner of such human action. Thus, for an individual, culture acts as a continually changing resource centre. It is in and through culture that the self learns and influences other people to learn about the world of existence. So, any change in culture, such as an influx of long staying refugees, immigrants or tourists into a country will have an impact on the identity construction of both the local and incoming people, as individuals and as a collective. Bruner (1990) points out the place of culture in self identity construction, concluding with:

> The Self, then, like any other aspect of human nature, stands both as a guardian of permanence and as a barometer responding to the local cultural weather. The culture, as well, provides us with guides and stratagems for finding a niche between stability and change; it exhorts, forbids, lures, denies, rewards the commitments that the self undertakes. And the Self, using its capacities for reflection and for envisaging alternatives, escapes or embraces or re-evaluates and reformulates what the culture has on offer... And ironically enough once an official history or anthropology has been proclaimed in a culture and enters the public domain, that very fact alters the process of self construction. (p. 10)

In fine, the above discussion suggests that cultural knowledge is essential for self identity construction. When cultural knowledge is cut off from an individual or group, neither of these will influence identity building. During colonial times, for instance, the colonialists tightly controlled the manner, the means, and the type of knowledge they gave to the colonized for the sake of manipulating their identity construction. The knowledge imposed on the colonized was aimed at reconstructing identity so that it could suit the expectations and desires of the colonizer. The ruled were supposed to be submissive and ready to be used. The colonized were moulded through high doses of foreign cultural knowledge ("education") to despise and downgrade their own cultural knowledge and see it as inferior. Fanon (1963) correctly stresses this problem of cultural domination and manipulation by the colonizers.

> Every effort is made to bring the colonized person to admit the inferiority of his culture which has been transformed into instinctive patterns of behaviour, to recognise the unreality of his `nation' and in the last extreme, the confused and imperfect character of his own biological structure. (p. 190)

Through foreign cultural knowledge and distorted local cultural realities, the colonized were tactfully manipulated to rediscover themselves as inferior to the foreign ruler. The identity of the ruled was negatively reconstructed. Spradley (1980) helps us to see the essence of cultural knowledge in identity construction:

> Although we can easily see behaviour and artifacts, they represent only the thin surface of a deep lake. Beneath the surface, hidden from view, lies a vast reservoir of cultural knowledge... Although cultural knowledge is hidden from view, it is of fundamental importance because we all use it constantly to generate behaviour and interpret our experience. Cultural knowledge is so important that it will frequently use the broader term culture when speaking about it. (p. 6)

Since cultural knowledge is so important in self identity construction, its manner and means of being conveyed in this post-colonial era need to be well-planned. This is the central reason why my study seeks an understanding of the place and role of art and art education in national cultural identity construction in the Tanzanian population.

How does art play a role in cultural identity construction of a society or nation? Art, be it drawing, painting, design or sculpture; or whether it is drama, music or poetry, has the ability to narrate or tell a story about social issues. In the process of narrating, through understandable (decodable) form and content, art is able to inform, enlighten or educate society. For the plastic arts (drawing, painting, design, sculpture), to aid the task of cultural identity construction, they must tell a story or narrate in the language familiar to the local people.

In order to help identity construction of a society, art has to be locally based. For instance, in traditional African societies, art, which was in the service of the local tribes, was made or created using forms which were familiar and understandable to the culture in question. Since cultural knowledge is primal in identity construction, culturally relevant art needs to be promoted and emphasized rather than creating art works. It is my position that art needs to be responsible to its audience. Artists working in post-colonial societies, with audiences having varied cultural identities due to unequal exposure to both traditional and "modern" (contemporary) art techniques, forms and contents, requires great care in their creativity so as to produce art works which have meaning to the people. Art education on the other hand calls for a type of pedagogy that is not detached from cultural realities of the students. Students' life experiences need to be respected and consulted in the process of learning. Braden (1978) recognizes this problem through her discussion on art, art education and society. Quoting Roger Fagin she maintains that often there is no relation between art and student lives.

> At the same time, the way we are educated to think about art has considerable effect on the art we produce. Roger Fagin, an artist working at Laycock School, Islington, pointed out: 'The teachers in art school see themselves as unengaged observers of the world, and encourage students to do likewise. They don't see themselves as part of a local community but as commentators. In this situation, the only place to look for validation of one's work as a professional artist is from the art world itself - the transatlantic limbo-land of Art Forum.' This separation of art from life is reflected early on in the educational system as the pursuit of creativity is transformed in junior schools into the pursuit of 'appreciation' of recognized forms of art and literature. (p. 11)

Art students have to cease to be full time indoor imaginative concocters. There is a lot more students could learn in community based art education compared to the confined studio approach. Art educators, therefore, need to respect and promote students' cultural knowledge that can be highly useful if allowed to be freely expressed. This concern for art, artists, art learners and educators being detached from the people is again well discussed by Braden (1978) who emphasizes the need for the context of art.

> The first question is one which a surprising number of books and reports on contemporary art avoid. The difficulty arises from the fact that art evades objectivity. Nevertheless, the essential nature of art is in the 1970s. Concern for the separation of art and artists form the rest of society, expressed by a growing concentration on new ways of putting art and artists back into social contexts, may be seen as the stamp of this decade. In the course of this movement the language of art itself is being re-examined and the sterility of many of the art forms, so eagerly bought, sold and promoted during this century, is being exposed. (pp. 3-4)

Referring to Braden's contention, it seems that the issue of art being detached from society is not confined to developing or post-colonial countries alone. The problem is global in magnitude and continues to be a notable concern in developed countries. In any case, the extent to which art is alienated from society and the way it is created or taught in school differs from country to country. Tanzania as a post-colonial country has its problems of alienating art from society which is closely linked with a colonial era. What follows is a discussion on the present Tanzanian situation with reference to the way art and art education was treated when the country was under colonial rule.

1.3 Colonial Rule and the Destruction of the Arts

The colonial rulers completely disregarded the teaching of art in colonial Tanzania. Art education was not included in the official curriculum, and thence completely disregarded in government schools. The same was the case in mission schools. Then how is it that I became an artist? Especially when part of my primary (elementary) education was received during the final years of British colonial rule in the late fifties. For the purposes of this discussion, I will write a short account of my school day experiences and how (accidentally) I happened to pursue art as my career.

I began my grade one (standard one) education in a government primary school 1956. The school did not have an art program. Art as a subject did not have any value to the British rulers compared to subjects like English, British history, geography, mathematics and general science. All of these subjects were taught in a way that purposefully injected the Tanzanian children with British cultural values. Knowledge about Tanzania's own history was carefully censored. Only education that had direct application to the colonial government and which did not pose any threat to colonial stability was offered. Tanzanian cultural history was not taught, and when it was mentioned, it was undignified, down-graded, inferior and condemned. Music and drama programs were also excluded from the school curriculum. I thus completed my primary school without having a clue as to what art was.

I then joined middle school in the 1960s, during the times of gaining independence from the British. The middle school I attended was government owned and did not have an art program. The school only taught carpentry (woodwork), in addition to the above mentioned subjects, as a supplementary handcraft subject. In the late sixties I was lucky to be admitted to secondary education. Dodoma Secondary school, a school that was exclusively open to the East Indian community during colonial times, had been nationalized after Tanzania's political independence. It was this school that came to define my future as an artist and art educator. Unlike the British colonial government, the East Indian community had introduced art programs in most of its private schools long before independence. At this school, I took art as one of my subjects as part of my education.

In the early seventies I was selected to join a government high school where art, as usual, was not offered. While I was placed to pursue science subjects, I continued to study art privately and later joined a teachers' training college. At the college I studied biology and art as teaching subjects and later graduated with a diploma in teaching. After teaching in secondary schools for two and a half years I was selected to join the University of Dar-es-salaam. Here, I strongly objected to pursuing a management degree and decided to take art and theatre as major subjects. After graduating at the University of Dar-es-salaam in 1980 I was appointed to join the faculty at the same institution as a tutorial assistant in art.

In light of the lack of institutional support for the arts during this era, many African children, many of them talented in the arts, were denied a chance to study art. The colonialists decided not to teach art because it was a subject that would introduce Tanzanian children to their own cultural heritage. The British colonial rulers, closely supported by missionaries, were committed to totally bury African culture in Tanzania. Right from traditional communities to the classroom level, African culture, strongly rooted in the arts, was directly despised, prohibited, and thence condemned to limbo. In support of my strong contention, I will include a touching episode I witnessed when I was four years old.

It was one cold early morning when my mother asked me to accompany her to the corn fields. I always liked to be close to her. I was very proud of my mother and especially attracted by her strong sense of traditional fashion. My mother often decoratively adorned herself with beautiful beadwork, bangles, and traditional earrings. She always pleated her hair with immaculate styles. My mother also permanently adorned her perfectly built leg line with flexible bangle like "udodi" ornaments made from animal tail hair and fine shiny coloured metal threadings. She used to wear hundreds of these on each of her legs. So off we started our journey to the fields. After about half an hour's walk we arrived. I did not know what my mother had planned to do in the fields that morning. However she chose a place to sit and asked me to do the same. She looked sad and impatient but determined to do something I did not know! She took a sharp knife out of her basket she had carried from home. She looked at me and said, "I am going to cut and remove all the ornaments." Before I had even uttered a word of denial or consent, the knife had already started its destructive and terminal episode. I gazed with sadness and discomfort as the knife brought my mother's beautiful ornaments to an end. My mother finalized her years of rich African beauty with the removal of all the bangles, beadwork and earrings. She eventually, unceremoniously, buried all her beauty deep down in the red African soil. She then held my hand, and we went home!!

What was the motive force behind this heart breaking episode? I eventually came to learn that my mother, together with other new converts to the Christian religion were ordered to get rid of all their traditional ornaments and absolutely refrain from traditional religious worship, otherwise they would not be allowed into the church for congregation.

To have a sense of the destructive nature of the colonial rule on African culture, Fanon (1963) has the following to say on colonial domination. He propounds that:

> Colonial domination, because it is fatal and tends to oversimplify, very soon manages to disrupt in spectacular fashion the cultural life of a conquered people. The cultural obliteration is made possible by the negation of national reality, by new legal relations introduced by the occupying power, by the banishment of natives and their customs to out-lying districts by colonial society, by expropriation, and by the systematic enslaving of men and women. (p. 190)

During colonial times, therefore, Tanzanian culture was attacked from all corners. The Christian religion, as noted in the anecdote, strongly condemned the worship and admiration of all traditional artifacts. The religion even prohibited its followers from consulting traditional medicinemen/diviners for their health and social problems! This move was purposefully constructed to benefit and promote the sale and use of imported medicine and related commodities from the colonizers' country. The move was intended to strengthen the "authenticity" of the Christian religion at the expense of African culture and its medicinal and spiritual heritage. All this amounted to the disappearance of very useful knowledge of potent African medicinal herbs. The few remaining African medicinal herbists who miraculously survived the colonial hunt are presently in the forefront of the global desperate search for a cure of the notorious HIV-AIDS virus. To have a sense of the continuing global recognition of the once condemned potent strength of African herbs I quote *Business Times Newspaper's* discussion on herbal AIDS treatment. The correspondent Mussika (1993) asserts that:

> A California-based AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) research centre is conducting a study in Tanzania on the effectiveness of traditional medicine on the dreaded disease. Preliminary findings by the researcher Youn Young Shin of the research foundation indicate that ingredients in herbal formulas have paramount place in searching for an effective cure of the disease although vast improvements may be necessary. ... He was vastly impressed by what he has witnessed on the scene, citing herbal formulas by Hawa Nyamichwo as good example of progress in herbal AIDS treatment `It might not take too long before a permanent cure is found, the Korean researcher noted in undisguised optimism. `Several AIDS patients improved tremendously from treatment given by this lady.' Dr. Shin's observations in the country have strengthened belief that potential exists of finding a herbal cure for the disease, alongside the major diseases like cancer, diabetes and asthma... Dr. Shin directs medical research in the Young Industrial Trading Co. Ltd., whose local agency, Kolon Tanzania Co. shall process herbal formulas into tablets. (p. 3)

Fanon (1963) elaborates on the destruction of national culture of the colonized.

> The colonial situation calls a halt to national culture in almost every field... A national culture under colonial domination is a contested culture whose destruction is sought in systematic fashion. It very quickly becomes a culture condemned to secrecy. (p. 191)

The degradation of Tanzanian culture at all levels and the tightly controlled access to relevant cultural knowledge for the Tanzanians continued until the end of British rule in 1961. After independence, Tanzania went ahead to restructure the schooling system so that more relevant education for Tanzanians could be offered. A number of educational reforms have taken place since independence, most notably the famous 1967 education reform document, "Education for Self Reliance," by Julius K. Nyerere, the first, now retired, president of The United Republic of Tanzania. To have an idea of what has been done concerning Tanzanian education since independence Samoff (1990) states that:

> Tanzania seems to offer a success story of educational reform. In a brief period a very poor country has introduced institutional changes that reach nearly all its citizens. Primary education is essentially universal. Initial instruction uses a language and draws on experiences and materials that are familiar to everyone. Tanzania and Africa feature prominently in the curriculum at all levels. A national board sets and marks examinations. Tanzania's adult literacy is now among the highest in Africa. Although affluence clearly enhances the likelihood of academic success, poverty does not preclude it. (p. 209)

Even though many changes occurred in the restructuring of education immediately after independence, art and other related subjects like music and drama did not receive the expected urgent attention. Prof. P. Mlama (1982), in her discussion concerning the issue of arts education in Tanzania points out: "Arts education (theatre) was first introduced at the university level in 1967 and not in primary schools (my own translation). (p. 9)

Art was introduced at the University of Dar-es-salaam in 1975, almost fourteen years after independence. Music was introduced even later than that. According to the Tanzania Ministry of Education planners, art education was first introduced at the university level so as to train art teachers who would go and teach the subject in lower colleges and schools, a plan that would take years to accomplish. Prof. Mlama (1982) comments on the difficulty of this plan for preparing art teachers.

> It was expected that art education students graduating from the university of Dar-es-salaam would go and teach art in schools and colleges. But the University was producing an average of five graduates every year. This is a too small number to be able to satisfy the demand for art teachers in schools and colleges (my own translation). (p. 9)

Art education teachers for colleges and schools only began to be formally trained in the 1970s.

Why did art education take so long a time to be introduced into the education curricula? What is the present state of art and art education in *schools and colleges and the university? What is the place and role of art and art education in post-colonial Tanzania? How are art and art education being affected by the postcolonial, postmodern era of multiculturalism, where more and more people of multi and split identities converge rather than diverge? In this state of cultural heterogeneity, is art able to cope with the shifting identities? Is art able to contribute to Tanzania's national cultural identity construction?* These are among the major questions that my study pursues. The stated questions are difficult to answer for a number of reasons.

First, art educators and developers have to deal with the problems that were inherited from the colonial education systems and at the same time face and respond to the postmodern global system with its ever increasing self-styled universal art values and connoisseurs. Second, as noted earlier, the present technological advancement in communication systems forces countries, whether developed or developing, to exist within a global village situation rather than remain isolated as distinct nations, with distinct cultures. Third, the fast reproducing transnational practices (which include multinational and transnational corporations) seek residence or trade partnerships anywhere in the globe where they can make quick profits with cheap labour. They are in the forefront in introducing foreign cultural values in whatever country they settle. The hegemonic tendency of these transnational practices is however debatable. There are people who contend that their presence in developing countries is more exploitative and greatly destructive to the local cultures. On the other hand there are those who defend them by claiming that their practices in developing countries are doing more good than harm to the host countries. Sklair (1990) notes this controversy when discussing transnational practices in the Third World.

> There is a strong tendency in some quarters to assume that all transnational

> practices (TNPs) in the Third World are unwelcome and malign, just as there is a strong tendency in other quarters to assume that they are all welcome and benign. Transnational corporations, transnational capitalist classes and culture - ideology of consumerism are all seen as evil attempts to undermine the freedom and cultural autonomy of weak and poor victims, or the only true paths to development and the only reliable vehicles for releasing the poor from their misery. (p. 85)

The question of transnational practices and national cultural identity construction in postcolonial countries is difficult and crucial. In this age of postmodern capitalistic hegemonic practices, it is next to impossible for a country to stay in isolation from the rest of the world for fear of being caught in the snare of cultural imperialism. If this is the case, does the situation then suggest that western cultural imperialism is on a relentless and unstoppable move to conquer other world cultures? If not, what are the ways and chances of constructing a national cultural identity, in a country like Tanzania, which is increasingly expanding her trading and tourist relations with foreign countries? How is art and art education going to contribute in this undertaking when Tanzania herself is situated at the heart of world tourist attractions?

Tanzania is the home of Mount Kilimanjaro, the highest snow capped mountain in Africa. Other world famous attractions include Olduvai Gourge, Serengeti National Park, Lake Manyara National Park, Mikumi National Park, and many fine tropical beaches. As noted, art and art education in Tanzania are very much influenced by foreign buyers and hence valuers. Foreigners who come to Tanzania on trading missions, as tourists, or those who stay in the country on diplomatic missions, together with representatives of multinational and transnational corporations form the majority of buyers of art. For economic reasons, art creativity tends to be greatly influenced by the tastes of these foreign buyers. Artists who are in urgent need of money tend to create their art works in response to market forces, that is according to what is saleable to the foreigner. The same practice appears to happen in schools and colleges where art education and creativity seem to work in response to foreign buyer's tastes and value standards. Art teachers prepare students to be able to sell their works well to buyers in competitive city exhibitions. This is a difficult situation in art practice and art education, since there is no clear cut answer as to what should be done to make artists and art educators meaningfully take part in national cultural identity building. The answer to this question, and many others already mentioned, together with those to come could be answered by artists and art educators themselves who are facing the realities in the field. When art sales are expected to sustain the livelihood of an artist and his or her family, there calls for comprehensive plans and approaches on art and art education development so as to make the practice play its role in the construction of a national cultural identity. Officials working in various institutions and the Minister of Education and Culture could also offer useful information for understanding the phenomenon of art and cultural identity politics.

CHAPTER TWO

Foreign Influence on African Art

This section serves as an introduction to the whole issue of foreign cultural influence on the arts of Africa. Since I will be doing more review of relevant literature as I proceed with the discussion of the study, this section will to some extent remain brief.

There has been a long history of foreign influence on African art. The early influences on the artistic creations of indigenous people of Africa occurred mainly along the coasts. This early influence was caused by foreign traders who came in contact with the African people as early as the fifteenth century or even earlier. It is, for instance, reported that remarkable foreign influence resulted from the "Assyrian invasion of Egypt in 666 BC" (Willett 1971, p. 10). Willett also writes that direct foreign cultural influences on the African continent were " for a long time limited to the coasts, though trade goods found their way inland." (p. 10). Rodney (1972) writes that after the Portuguese reached the Indian Ocean through the Cape of Good Hope in 1495 they "sought...to replace the Arabs as the merchants who tied East Africa to India and...Asia." (p. 76). Honour and Fleming (1984) assert that "Africans were trading overseas with Europe and Asia long before Europeans penetrated the interior." (p. 556). Willett (1971) points out the effects of such influences along the East African coast. He writes:

> The decoration of the interior of these buildings (mosques, emir's palaces and town gates) with relief sculpture and paint follows a long-standing tradition. China plates and-nowadays brightly colored enamel bowls are set into the walls and ceilings. This mode of decoration appears to have originated on the East African coast where

> on Kilwa Island Persian and Chinese porcelain bowls were used in this way in the first half of the fifteenth century AD. The practice appears to have spread northwards into Nubia and thence westwards across the Muslim Sudan. (p. 120).

Willett goes on to note that foreign penetration into the interior of Africa happened "only after the Industrial revolution" when Europe started going to other continents in search of raw materials and markets for their industrial products.

2.1 Islamic Influence

The foreign invasion of the East African coast went hand in hand with the establishment of the Islamic religion. To date, most of the Moslems in East Africa are found in the coastal towns and cities like Dar Es salaam, Tanga, Kilwa, and Bagamoyo in Tanzania and the towns of Mombasa and Lamu in Kenya. The inhabitants of the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba in Tanzania are as well mainly Muslims. This Islamic culture so introduced had remarkable influence in art and architecture. Such art and architectural influence is more noticeable in the style of decoration of doors with geometric curved designs. This is a style which uses only geometric motifs exclusively based on or derived from non living things. The exclusive use of geometric designs in door decoration is mainly due to the fact that the Islamic religion does not allow the portrayal of the human figure and other beings in the form of images. Ulli Beier (1968) comments on this Islamic law as follows: "Islam does not allow figurative representation and consequently Islamic art has always been restricted to geometric ornament and calligraphy." (p. 29).

This Islamic cultural influence was notable along the East African coast, at places like Zanzibar, Pemba, Kilwa, Bagamoyo, Dar-Es-salaam Mombasa and Lamu. The West African coast was likewise not spared by these

Islamic influences on art creations. The influence of Islam in West Africa was very similar to that of East Africa since its influence centered on the same notion of non-representation (figuratively). Rene A. Bravmann (1974) does note this influence as follows:

> Writers on the arts of Sub-Saharan Africa have either ignored the influence of Islam or have treated the theme inaccurately. That they should ignore it is surprising, since Islam has for many centuries been one of the most pervasive factors affecting the arts and culture of West Africa. (p. 91).

The penetration of Islam into traditional societies destroyed these societies' social structure which was firmly held and supported by their religious beliefs. With the displacement of local religious beliefs, masks and figures that once had religious value started to lose their place in society.

But it is also true that some parts, especially those which were not directly invaded by foreigners, did keep their traditional beliefs and hence traditional religious art continued to flourish. Dennis Duerden (1968) discusses this point in relation to the Savannah people. He does point out that:

> Some areas in the southern, eastern and western regions of the Sahara were converted to Islam. They are referred to, geographically, as the Savannah areas of Africa and characterized by plains of long grass and stunted trees. The Sudanic Empires which were found there were converted to Islam between the seventh and fourteenth centuries. They raided for slaves into the forests to the South, but were mounted and horses were unable to travel in thick forest, nor could they survive there because of the tsetse fly. However, although the rulers of the Savannah area south of the Sahara were converted to Islam, many groups of people in these areas were either imperfectly converted or remained unconquered because they lived in rocky hills or plateaux which provided natural defense against the invading horsemen. So the art of the old African religions flourished even in the Savannah areas conquered by Islam. The old art and old religions are associated with the more typical social organization, in Africa south of the Sahara, which seems to be the product of the conditions of life in the thick forest. (p. 7).

The general influence of Islamic culture on art can be seen in various parts of Africa which were Islamized. Ulli Beier (1968) discusses this factor in relation to an individual Sudanese artist by the name of Ibrahim E. L. Salahi. Despite the fact that Salahi was trained at the Slade School in London and then returned to teach at Khartoum Technical Institute, his surrounding Islamic culture eventually dictated his perception and artistic creations. Beier comments that:

> As he came to Slade with no tradition of his own to fall back on, it was only natural for him to emerge a typical product of that school. Competent portraits, pleasing landscapes all very attractive and technically professional. But returning to his home town he felt dissatisfied, found his work meaningless in that setting. He loved Khartoum and the desert that surrounded it and wanted to feel part of it. But there was little stimulus he could receive locally, there was no tradition of wood carving or mural design. Salahi retired into himself. Into those first years he spent much time in the desert meditating. His love of the Koran led him to start practicing Arabic Calligraphy. The writing of Koranic verses had a soothing effect on him, he loved the swinging rhythms of the letters and gradually began to see them as forms and images rather than as texts. His dreamlike vision began to impose itself on the writing and the letters began to sprout decorative doodles, which in turn became more and more like figurative images. When the rhythm of calligraphy had liberated itself from the letter, Salahi had found his style. He had found the sensitive nervous line that seems to feel its way around the image, like the delicate antennae of an insect. (pp. 29-30)

Beier's account indicates how strong the Islamic influence is in some parts of Africa. Salahi, on returning from Britain, found himself mainly surrounded by a culture that appreciated different artistic values and creations. Due to the desert climate and the predominant Islamic culture, Salahi could not carry on and develop the art style he had learned in Britain.

However, a rather different trend of Islamic influence on art can be seen in East Africa or Tanzania in particular, especially along the coast. Apart from the fact that one frequently sees doors with very elaborately decorated carved out geometric designs in the coastal areas like Bagamoyo, Kilwa and Dar-Es-Salaam, including the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, it is also common to see people engaged in creating other types of art, like sculpture and painting. In the case of decorative door art, one occasionally sees artists incorporating the symbols of stars and the moon, which is a sign of direct influence from the Islamic tradition. It needs to be noted, however, that door art carvers are no longer strictly bound to follow the strict rules of Islamic tradition of refraining from representing life artistically. This art has now become open to other influences. Even though this art remains essentially geometric, it now freely incorporates mortifs from any sources, including those portraying life or living things. This art, though in a modified style, is gaining great popularity among the elite Tanzanian population. These highly attractive doors are now frequently seen to be used in the modern expensive houses. Even contemporary artists like the Makonde carvers of Tanzania are taking this art seriously. The Makonde, apart from being all round sculptors, using all types of living things as symbols, they do, as well, carve very beautiful geometric decorative designs on doors. The Makonde artists, despite using other motifs based on living things, do occasionally incorporate symbols and motifs of stars and the moon which are basic characteristics of this art.

2.2 Christian Influence

The introduction of Christianity, just like Islam, had a remarkable influence on the existence and development of African art. Christianity, if it had to flourish, had to replace the traditional religious beliefs. So the missionaries' first target was to discourage and destroy the traditional societies' beliefs in ancestral and other types of gods. Since many of these gods were in the form of carved or modeled images, the sculptures of these gods lost place and function the more the societies were converted to Christianity. Marshal Ward Mount (1973) looks into this devastating effect of

Christian culture on traditional African art as follows:

> The breakdown of traditional religions has been one of the most important of the changes in that it has had the most devastating effect on traditional art. Christian missionaries permanently established in Africa by the mid-nineteenth century, sought to supplant the prevailing religious practices by establishing their own churches and schools. At times they actually destroyed publicly, sometimes in dramatic bonfires, objects associated with African religious beliefs. Thus missionaries often almost completely destroyed native religious practices, thereby eliminating one of the strong raisons d' etre for most traditional African art. (p. 4).

Referring to Mount's account, it is seen that the encounter between Christianity and traditional religions was in many cases direct. Christianity destroyed traditional art pieces that were linked with and supported traditional religions so as to give room for its own establishment.

Since, in many cases, the establishment of Christianity went hand in hand with colonial rule, the local ethnic groups did not have the means to resist the penetration of Christianity. The best they could do was to be submissive and follow orders. The aim of the missionaries was not simply to preach the word of God. Their other central aim was to eradicate all traditional cultures and to replace them with "the superior" foreign ones. The sense of cultural superiority was deep rooted, as it is further explained by Ulli Beier (1968) as:

> When missionaries started serious activity in West Africa during the nineteenth century, however, a new type of prejudice had grown up in Europe. Industrialization had rapidly widened the gap between Europe and the rest of the world. It was easy for Europeans to see themselves as a superior race because the rate of their 'progress' and the power they wielded seemed to support such a view. The Victorians saw the evolution of culture as a kind of sequence to the evolution of species. As complex species gradually evolve from primitive ones so complex cultures evolve from simple ones. Man is at the top of the biological pyramid and European civilization at the top of the cultural pyramid. In this view foreign cultures do not represent valid alternative interpretation of the world, but merely unsuccessful attempts to achieve the European ideal. Seen in this context, the early missionaries' activities were entirely legitimate. African religions did not appear to them as different views of life, but simply as bewildered, confused attempts grope for the one truth that Christianity had to offer. The stylization of African art appeared as the

> failure of the crude craftsman to represent his objects faithfully. What was there to preserve? (p. 5).

For this matter the central purpose of missionaries and the penetration of Christianity was not to establish faith, equality and respect under their word of God. Their real aim was to deeply root the European culture in African societies under the camouflage of Christian faith and the word of God. The adoption of European culture by the African people would henceforth make it easy for Europe to rule, dominate and exploit Africa. Mariana Torgovnick (1990) in discussing Henry M. Stanley's book 'How I found Livingstone' (1874) writes:

> Ironically Stanley's book about Africa and Africans helped form Euro-American attitudes toward the continent and its inhabitants --- he sees in Africa the two things his age valued most: opportunities for commerce and opportunities for bringing Christianity to savages. Stanley says that the landscape satisfies the 'poetic fancy', and in fact describes it often through Western eyes, in terms of the Burkean sublime. But the land must be put to use by men like him to fulfill its destiny. Romantic 'poetic fancy' gives way to the tough-mindedness of the trader in merchandise and the saver of souls. (pp. 26-27).

This attitude of superiority of Europeans is the one which blinded the missionaries not to see and appreciate the high quality of African artistic perception and creation. They would never see anything of value from the people whose culture they despised and hated. They would never see anything good with the African art images - that were in fact the strongholds for the then well established traditional religions which they relentlessly wanted to bury. This attitude of hate and wish to destroy African traditional religions is documented by Elsy Leuzinger (1960). Leuzinger goes on to discuss the hidden motives that were behind the forceful planting of the foreign religions in Africa. The writer states that:

> Islam and Christianity are on the point of supplanting or assimilating traditional supernatural beliefs. This is undermining the basis of African art, and indeed depriving it of its whole *raison d'etre*. For how can one venerate gods and sons of gods, and give them artistic forms, if their very function is called in question? Any one who faces up to these unpalatable truths must admit that the old established order has been completely destroyed. Colonial rule has temporarily brought in its train overestimation of everything foreign. Missionaries have sought against the pagan cults and replaced their images by European ones. African markets are flooded with imported goods of all kinds, which are gradually ousting the time - consuming native hand-crafts. (p. 209)

But evidence shows that these same missionaries who aimed to totally destroy African traditional religions, and as a consequence make the African craftsman (artist) lay down his tools for lack of customers, came back to use some of these craftsmen for their own benefit. After Christianity had attained a stable acceptance in African societies, missionaries started using some local craftsmen to carve images that would be used to illustrate and represent the word of their God. Apart from the missionaries starting to exploit the talents of the African sculptors and carvers, and even painters, there emerged other new lovers of African Artistic creations. These were the colonial administrators, anthropologists, ethnographers, and tourists. Elsy Leuzinger (1960) comments on the fate of the African artist after the destruction of traditional religious institutions that demanded his/her services. He states that "The negro artist has found new patrons, to whose taste he is bound to conform" (pg. 209). The missionaries' fight against traditional African culture affected more than the plastic arts. The converted African (into Christianity) was, as noted above, literally barred from participating in any traditional cultural activities. He or she was never allowed "by the Bible" to participate in traditional dances, be it as a dancer, or as part of an audience. The converted African was not allowed to use traditional medicine or to consult the medicine men for any other purpose. These new Christians were also prohibited from using any ornaments to decorate their bodies.

The above statements represent just a portion of the magnitude of the missionaries' interference with local culture. The effect of the people being barred from participating in dance functions meant that the dance culture started to be despised and gradually lost its followers. Since the dance culture was an important part of traditional oral literature, the more these traditional dances lost value due to a gradual decreasing audience and less participation, the more the tradition of oral literature was affected. These dances were almost always accompanied by educative songs that helped to regulate social order. Some songs had a historical connotation and hence served as reminders of what had happened in the far past. Song and dance were a powerful tool that served in solving individual or social conflicts. This song and dance culture was a good source of entertainment within and after work as well. This is because, for the African, song was regarded as an inspiration for work. For instance, people would sing and dance while working in the fields. In this way, they would work for hours and hours without getting tired or losing morale. Local beer, which was used in the work place as a soothing drink, was also prohibited.

The barring of people from using traditional medicine went hand in hand with the introduction of modern medicine housed in dispensaries and hospitals. The introduction of modern medicine was not a bad thing at all, but its presence, coupled with the barring of people from using traditional medicine, marked the gradual disappearance of the medicine man as he or she started losing customers. In this way, a lot of valuable and potent traditional herbs have been lost with time. These treasures will never be recovered as their knowledge was always carried over from generation to generation practically and orally. Nothing was ever written down due to security reasons. Even the present, (remaining), traditional medicine men who are literate, never write down the secret behind their healing powers.

2.3 External Markets

Christianity and Colonialism meant the start of a new culture in Africa. This culture was western and foreign and had a lot of effects on the existence and development of art. Foreign invasion of the African continent intensified by the end of the 19th. century. Hallett (1974) asserts:

> " In 1875 Europeans were in control of less than 10 percent of the total area of the continent, and no really substantial African state had yet been brought completely under their domination. By 1900, so rapid had been the European advance that three quarters of the continent was subject to their hegemony and almost all the major African polities had been destroyed, forced to accept European 'protection,' or reduced to a position where their surrender seemed imminent." (p. 6).

African art, through the hands of new customers and agents found its way to Europe and started to be detached from its functional premises. Collectors started hunting for carvings and sculptures which once were totally sacred. Figures such as sacred gods, Kings and Queen mothers were acquired in various ways and taken to Europe. As more foreigners and their agents in Europe came to know more of the quality of African art, the demand in Africa for the same increased. More carvers and sculptors started to produce art for the ready foreign market. In this way, creation of traditional art increasingly became secularized. Now art works which were initially created secretly started to be produced in public and their value changed from that of worship and spiritual power, to that of money and aesthetics. Elsy Leuzinger (1960) comments on the effect of external markets on the traditional artist:

> Where formerly it was the secret societies, priests and kings who assured his existence, today his customers are largely to be found amongst town-dwellers, missionaries, white settlers, and tourists. In the hope of rapid and easy gain, the negro complies with their wishes. Thus there has arisen in the large towns, busy artisan workshops producing en masse, furniture, implements, ivory

> carvings for export, and brass carvings for the souvenir market. (p. 209).

In any case, this influx of foreign customers has its side effects. The good side of it was that more artists went into work and hence had the chance to continue a practice and gain a living. But definitely, this good side was more for the benefit of the foreigner than for the African culture which was getting uprooted. The other bad side of it was that art creation was now influenced and dictated by new market forces. The artist now faced customers he did not know. These invisible customers, (as the artist created for the money market and his works eventually were displayed for sale), had art tastes that varied considerably. The artist also had to mass produce so that he could meet the demand of the market. Elsy Leuzinger (1960) had the following to report concerning an art market in Dahomey:

> In Dahomey the entire village of Bename is engaged in manufacturing carvings for export. If tourists want masks and sculptures, then they shall have them, as many as they wish. But what is produced is of most questionable value: works without any cultural roots or artistic content; elegant, perhaps, and ingenious but at the same time, plain mannered and empty. These tribal sculptures exhibited in the superbly stocked museums make the African justly proud of his art, but they also show how false is the idea that he has merely to make use of traditional subjects in order to express himself in the modern idiom. (p. 209).

It can be deducted from the above account that value standards for the African art was rapidly changing. Art was no longer valued in relation to its social and cultural function. Art was no longer African art per se. This is because the art now produced for the foreign market involved two parties at its creation: the artist who was actually producing rather than creating the art works, the new buyer whose foreign artistic taste and valuation dictated the production process. In such a situation however, not all artists are willing to imitate already produced pieces so as to suit the tastes of the buyers, or even blindly produce artworks based on direct influences from the buyers. There will always be creative artists who will stick to their traditional sources of creative inspirations and hence be able to create artworks that stand out as unique, but of high artistic quality. Such work is that which is sometimes mistaken as traditional and authentic as opposed to the modern, so termed by some writers as "tourist art". Here is an account of a similar situation that was experienced by John Korn (1974) in Tanzania, where Makonde carvers, already alienated from their traditional artistic inspirations, struggled to sell artworks to him. Korn describes the situation:

> Kibaha was surrounded by Makonde villages. Every day, men from the villages would come around with their black hardwood carvings. It was obvious from the pieces that the craftsmen were striving hard to adapt their work to a form that they thought would appeal to the foreigner's taste. For months the men kept coming and going with their work, which was monotonous, though occasionally notable for excellent craftsmanship. Some of the carvers would reveal their skill by depicting anatomical details in an extremely correct manner and some possessed an intimate knowledge of internal organs, too. Sculptures in the shetani style were amongst the items always refused in the doorway. But one day a sculpture was purchased at the house, a merry, flat-headed female shetani, lip plug and all dancing on slender hands, her body twisted backwards 180 degrees to point her long legs high towards the sky. It differed so much from what the Makonde used to bring, that one would think that its carver had simply given up the objective of pleasing and had let his tools play free. The carver was Rashid bin Mohammed, and the piece became a two-way revelation. Once contact was established and he felt the liberty to express himself, he began to shape sculptures like those you see on these pages. Enthusiastically, his friends tried to join the game. Collection began. With little haggling, most offers were rejected. But new craftsmen began to flock to the door, and new sculptures appeared on the shelves. A voluntary organization came to serve a safety valve, buying (for profit to technical development projects) the works of all those carvers who did not fulfill their artistic promise in the long run. Here, from all those craftsmen who tried their luck at Kibaha, a handful of the most self disciplined Makonde artists are introduced to you. (pp. 10-11).

The above account openly puts into light the problems faced by the African artist under the service of the new and foreign customer. It is strongly implied in the discussion above that even Rashidi bin Mohammed, who struggled and finally made a breakthrough, did this under the strong and repeated influence and dictation of his customer. This was definitely a breakthrough, into his customers' mental tastes and value standards. Rashidi bin Mohammed in this way grew to create a treasure avenue towards an external market that the customer at Kibaha eventually secured. It is a pity that other carvers embarked (most probably under the direction of this local customer), on imitating a style that had managed to penetrate a stiff market.

In the place of a modern foreign customer who collects, values, and judges artworks that he or she buys in accordance with his or her own cultural value standards, together with current market tastes, the African artist is bound to be bulldozed to act in terms of what, how, and when to produce saleable artworks. James Clifford (1988) writes on the changeability of value standards:

> It is important to stress the historicity of this art-culture system. It has not reached its final form: the positions and values assigned to collectable artifacts have changed and will continue to do so. (p. 226).

The African artist who is a member of the present fast changing postmodern world, can not avoid other people far away judging his works. But allowing someone foreign, being a valuer and judge of African peoples' art works, is creating a trend that will eventually kill all that is "authentically" African in African Art. When the money market continues to control the value and sales of art works, the parties involved in the transaction don not care about artistic qualities, be it related to the culture of the place where the art work is produced or as a product of foreign imitation. What matters in such a transaction is the marketability of the artwork. Marianna Torgovnick (1990) comments on this rather difficult to control market situation of the art world:

> The first and third worlds interpenetrate now, and they do business.--- In this

> trade, African carvers gleefully imitate the production of neighboring traditions, traditions not their own, if those kinds of statues or masks sell to Westerners; reports have it that the village workshops consult the 'latest coffee- table books and auction catalogues of African art' in order to keep up with shifting Western tastes vogue. 'Junk' pieces successfully passed off as 'danced' in tribal rituals or even better, as 'old' will be produced many times their usual worth... Brooke facetiously suggests that there is no problem so long as every one involved in the transactions is happy in the game of mental 'ping-pong' the trade in artifacts involves: the producer of the 'fake' African antique happy with his profits, the consumer happy to believe he has purchased the real thing at a bargain price. If the deceived and the deceiver part is satisfied, who cares. (pp. 39-40).

Torgovnick's discussion clearly shows that the state of African art, especially that which is caught within the first and third world's market ventures is really in chaos, and something needs to be done to arrest the situation. But what can really be done that will prove more powerful than the money market? Can the solution come from the removal of the deceivable money monger middle man and let the museums and other established registered collectors do the job? Should art auctioneers in the first world start trekking to Africa in search of art treasures especially after being cautioned that the middle men they use are being deceived in situations where profitable transactions count? However, none of the above curative measures can ever save the situation in favor of the African art heritage that is in the state of sinking and disappearing. What then should be done so as to free the African artist from foreign, post-modern shackles of predetermined art market values? Should African governments control the purchase and export of artworks? Can these African governments act as agents and do the buying and exporting of artworks on their own? Can they, in doing so, be able to avoid the controls of foreign tastes in the market place? The other drawbacks with most third world countries are the lack of resources to do the buying and exporting of artworks at a rate that could sustain their local market supplies. In any case the issue under discussion is a serious one and needs to be researched so that if solutions are to be found, they will allow for a rich development of African art - a development that is not blindly influenced by external cultural norms and values. Another possible way of dealing with the problem might be through the removal of the 'price tag'. This situation is explained by Torgovnick (1990):

> Then as now, the attribution of 'best' and 'worst' implies a price tag as the objects primitives create become objects of desire for Western connoisseurs and enter an elaborate network of sale and resale quite different from their original conditions of production and circulation. (p. 82)

The only way to remove this price tag is to sincerely value artworks according to value standards of the artist and of the cultural setting under which an artwork in question is created. There is no point collecting an artwork from Africa made by an African artist when this same work looks totally foreign to the African who made it. Art works are carriers and reflectors of cultures within which they are created. Hence all means need to be made to enable African art to reflect the changing African culture for the betterment of future generations.

2.4 Foreign Training of African Artists

After discussing the effect of market forces in the creation of artworks, it is now worth looking at the effects of training African artists in foreign countries. Training, whether formal or informal is bound to influence the trainee. Many African artists and art teachers are continually being trained in foreign countries where they find themselves studying under foreign teachers, and within cultural situations that are totally different from their own. Foreign training of African artists directly or indirectly influences the way these trainees come to work as artists after graduation. After being influenced at the place and country of training, these graduates return to their home country where other young artists work or train under them. In this case, there seems to arise another chain of influence triggered by every graduate artist trained outside Africa.

Sometimes this sort of influence comes to Africa in the form of expatriate teachers or artist who are sent to work in institutions. But this second type of influence happens in a different manner since it takes place in the absence of a foreign cultural environment that is typical of the first. It is difficult to tell whether one of these modes of influences is less or more detrimental than the other. It is not easy to tell which of the two is more beneficial than the other in terms of imparting artistic creative knowledge to Africans. Art schools in Africa have also been divided in terms of English or French speaking, depending upon which colonial power happened to be their ruler, and to which foreign countries, whether English speaking or French speaking, an African will be sent for art training. Language in this case acts both as a barrier and a determinant.

In an attempt to have an idea of the effects of influences through foreign training or training under an expatriate teacher, reference will be made to specific cases. As a start let us consider Ulli Beier's (1968) understanding of the effects of art school training. Beier comments that:

> An art school is in a sense, a necessary evil. It is not really possible to teach techniques without imposing ideas on the student at the same time. The result is often a certain standardization. Some people can tell, by looking at a student's work, which British art school he is attending. However, the student who has sufficient personality soon finds his way out of the maze when he has finished the course. After all, the school is not the only influence working on him during his training. He lives in a big city and enjoys the stimulus its cultural life has to offer. (p. 41)

Following Beier's above argument it is seen that a student is always exposed to influence during his or her training period. The source of influence being both the formal college training, and the informal, outside, cultural life. But what happens to these trainees after graduation? Do they use the knowledge obtained at school as a tool of analysis to find their way towards their own individual style? Beier (1968) has the following comments concerning this tricky situation. He stresses:

> In a sense it is absurd: we subject the student to a process of standardization and teach him certain techniques and even styles that are considered to be solid basis of any artistic activity, and then send him out into the world expecting him to forget everything as quickly as possible and become original. Somehow, it seems to work. If nothing else, it is a kind of elimination process leading to the survival of the fittest. The system becomes rather more problematical when it is applied - without adaptation - to Africa. Can a system of training devised for another culture, and one sometimes feels - another century, be successful when transplanted to foreign soil? While no other system exists, what can one do? (p. 41)

Life after graduation is normally difficult to start as an artist. For the successful artist, it usually takes a lot of time and energy to disentangle oneself from the snare of past influence. Creating an individual style after graduation calls for a lot more patience, intuitive creative analysis and persistent conscious research and practice. But this effort toward an individual style after graduation differs with the type of training and individual artistic ability. On training, the teacher could make this relentless struggle for an individual style much easier for his or her students if the type of training was from the start, geared toward developing this personal style. But this is normally not the case. Teachers, as a tradition, always love to produce a future generation that is similar to them, and which would be able to carry forward their identities - if possible - faithfully. This factor within the art teacher profession sometimes creates antagonism between art teachers and students, especially when an art teacher happens to have students who are conscious of the future problem of creating an individual style. Beier (1968) has a useful example that is worth quoting when making an account of a school in Zaria, Nigeria. Beier writes:

> Even if this is the case, one could hardly have discovered a less suitable place than Zaria to site the Nigerian Art School. No tradition of creative art exists in Nigeria's Muslim North. The town itself is a backwater with little cultural life, and the University is far away from town to prevent the student from enjoying the few events that do take place, such as the colorful Muslim festivals. The expatriate staff find themselves many hundreds of miles from those areas of Nigeria which have an artistic tradition. From Benin, Yorubaland and the lively Ibo and Ibibio regions. It is from these areas, of course that the art students come - for the Northerners do not take to this subject for obvious reasons. The staff find it impossible to relate their teaching to students' background. Even local materials are difficult to obtain... There was a strong feeling of opposition to many of the schools, especially in the early years. Students revolted against the foreigness of it. I remember finding some students spending most of their time secretly in their rooms and hiding the painting from the staff. Much of what was taught was considered irrelevant and aroused in some of the students the desire to go their own way, to discover their own culture for themselves since they were taught nothing about it in the institution. Artists were born out of protest, and the search for identity became the primary motive of their artistic activity. (pp. 41- 42)

The discussion above shows that not all students are willing to be under direct influence of their teachers. However, many students have fallen under heavy influence due to the system of institutions they study in. Institutions or art schools in Africa have in many cases been imposing programs that originate from other foreign art schools. This has created much rigidity in the way art classes are run. The first art school in East Africa was started by Margaret Trowell at Makerere University, Uganda in 1937. This school, which was affiliated with the University of London, had notable European influence. Marshall Ward Mount (1973) writes of the school:

> Margaret Trowell claimed she gave no instruction in art to her students. The works of these students, however, form a clearly identifiable 'school style' that is obviously European-inspired...Trowell's students' paintings contain such Western elements as deep space within which figures are modeled with light and shade. Picturesque African subjects and Bible themes were done in lifeless, academic fashion... Mrs.Trowell inspired, encouraged, and partially trained three of East Africa's best-known artists: the painters Sam Ntiro and Elimo Njau and the sculptor Gregory Maloba. (p. 96)

Mount (1973) goes on to discuss the works of these three artist trained under Trowell. His analysis shows that these artists, even after graduating and working for a long time, still showed remarkable European influence in their artistic executions . For instance, Maloba, who after graduating under Trowell went on to study at the Bath Academy of Art, Corsham Court, and then later went to the Royal College of Art in London, showed significant influence of his teachers under whom he studied. Mount states:

> Mukasa's massive head with its large, clearly delineated features, is treated broadly without attention to small scale details. Its rough surface reveals the small clay units used in modeling the preparatory bust. In the surface treatment, and in some works, in the expressiveness of emaciated postures with deep hollowed eyes, Maloba's portraits strikingly resemble those of the late British sculptor Sr. Jacob Epstein. Maloba would probably admit that affinity is questioned for he has stated that: *students ought to look at work by artists of every race and generation if possible. Freedom for each individual to develop along his own line (whether or not it be influenced by another individual artist or school of thought), this must be there.* It is clear, then that Maloba was certainly directly influenced by Epstein's work, which he learned about during his study in England. (pp. 96-97).

Incidentally, Maloba joined Makerere School of Fine Arts as Trowell's teaching assistant after graduation in 1942. Maloba then, in 1966, after completion of his studies in England joined the University of Nairobi, Kenya as the head of the Department of Design. Sam Ntiro, the other student of Margaret Trowell was not much influenced by his teachers, despite the fact that he went abroad to study after graduating under Trowell. Ntiro studied at the Slade School and at the Institute of Education of the University of London. Ntiro also went for a study tour to the United States in 1960. In accordance with Mount's (1973) account, Sam Ntiro's effect of influence somehow differed from other students who graduated under Trowell. Despite minor influences, Ntiro's work was unique and of a personal style.

Mount comments that:

> Despite his years abroad, Ntiro, unlike his colleague Maloba, has been little influenced by twentieth-century Western art. His style, formed in his early years at the school of Fine Arts, has remained practically unchanged and is obviously related to that of typical Trowell students. Ntiro's works, however, are not as academically realistic, since his figures and landscapes are less detailed. His paintings have a naiveté resulting largely from his flat rather awkwardly drawn figures. It is this latter quality which has prompted one observer to relate Ntiro to another modem primitive, Grandma Moses. (p. 98).

Like Maloba, Sam Ntiro entered the art teacher profession after his graduation at the Makerere School of Fine Art in 1948 as a painting instructor at the same school. Ntiro also served as Tanzania's High Commissioner, London, and then after as a commissioner in the Tanzania government and then as a professor of Art history and painting at the University of Dar-Es-salaam.

Ulli Beier (1968) also offers some good examples of external influence on the training of African artists. Beier notes remarkable influences which occurred in other schools/workshops in Africa which were established and run by foreigners. One of these art training centers was the studio established by P. R. Defosses, in Elizabethville. According to Beier:

> First there was a studio of P. R. Defosses in Elizabethville which later became the Academie Officielle des Beaux-Arts under the direction of M. L. Moonens. A first batch of students left the institution in 1958. All the works show a strong family likeness and seem to indicate that a strong influence was extended by the teachers. All the work is decorative and two dimensional and there seems to have been strong emphasis on the applied arts. None of the students seem to have found a way towards really personal expression. (pg. 60)

Not all artists trained under European run schools or workshops did turn out to be heavily influenced by their masters. Some artists did make a breakthrough and made their own way to an individual style that made them famous. A good example is Valente Malangatana who is a product of an architect's studio. Malangatana, according to Ulli Beier (1968) was guided rather than trained under the architect Pancho Guedes. Guedes worked in Laurenco Marques, Mozambique and is described by Beier as: "...the most adventurous architect in Africa. His buildings are treated as sculptures rather than mere 'machines for living in." (p. 62)

Guedes, a European, established a studio to guide creatively and even help potential young artists financially so that these artists could, if possible, realize their talents. An adventurous architect and part time artist, he realized the essence of not interfering with individual creative ventures of these young artists in search of personal creative styles. Malangatana was one of these budding artists who made use of the golden chance. Beier (1968) describes Malangatana:

> By far the most interesting artist discovered by Guedes was Valente Malangatana... Malangatana's work has been described as surrealist, and there are in fact some surrealist elements in it. The every day world is invaded by spirits and monsters, the boundaries between reality and the supernatural do not seem to exist. His witchcraft pictures are as powerful and as moving as Hieronymus Bosch. The canvases are densely populated by human beings and spirits, and are splattered with blood and exude fear; Christian symbols give the whole a particular sinister aspect, like a representation of a black mass. ...Malangatana is a visionary, not a mere story-teller. He takes us into a world of horror and suffering and fear. (pp. 62-71).

Guedes had successful artists coming out under his guidance probably because he himself loved creative adventure. He wanted his students to creatively wonder around in search of their own destinies.

2.5 Conclusion

This discussion shows that African artistic creativity has been affected in many ways, through time. A lot has happened from the time Africa was invaded by foreign religions that marked the onset of a massive destruction of local African cultures. The destructive influence is continuing to happen in the present postmodern world. Is this destructive influence beyond control? Is it worth while to simply sit back and watch the African artistic culture being led astray? The postmodern world is getting smaller and smaller and countries coming closer and closer due to the vast and fast development in the field of communication. This closeness means more direct influence between foreign cultures. Under such a situation, should we, as a common world to be, just sit and surrender to the fact that cultural heritage of individual countries is now impossible to maintain or preserve? Or should we simply admit that the future culture will be that of the now so termed "super cultures?" In my opinion, surrender at this point in time, will not be a wise idea. Let that which is possible be done, so as to preserve and develop that which is African in artistic perception and creation. But how can this be done? Is it really possible to maintain and develop an African identity? Or will any venture in this safeguarding of African culture from further massive foreign influence prove impossible due to the counter forces of foreign cultures made possible through complex postmodern communication systems? These are among the questions my study explores.

CHAPTER THREE

The Research Problem

How is Art and Art Education Relevant for the Construction of a Tanzanian National Cultural Identity within the Context of a Hegemonic Globalism?

3.1 Significance of the Study

Africa has been in contact with other continents for a long time in history in three main ways: through trade, religion and colonialism. The East African coast for instance, had active trade links with foreign countries as early as the first century A.D. The Handbook of Tanganyika (1958) reports that:

> The first contact between East Africa and the outside world took place in the remote past. The date at which this intercourse began cannot be fixed with any certainty, but it can be safely said that it must have been several centuries before the Christian era. It was certainly established by the first century A.D. (p. 27)

Missionaries were busy establishing Christianity in Africa by the early nineteenth century A.D. The whole of Africa (except Ethiopia and Liberia) was already colonised by the year 1914.

On the part of Africa, such contacts have had both negative and positive cultural effects. Trade contacts have enabled African countries (though in an unbalanced way) to buy and sell their goods to foreign countries. In the process of establishing Christianity, missionaries had to engage in teaching their believers how to read and write, thus establishing the first foreign oriented formal schooling systems in Africa. Colonialism has always worked hand in hand with traders and missionaries so as to get a better grip on the African people, their culture, and therefore their economy. So as to attain a stable control of the African people and their economy, these foreigners, through Christianity and Islam, had to attack and destroy a central pillar in traditional African social economic and cultural systems, namely art.

African art played a major role in traditional religions. Sculptures and carvings in clay, wood and metal were used in portraying various religious figures such as gods, goddesses and their objects of worship. Art for instance was also used to portray the kings, queens and queen mothers. Apart from representing human figures, art was likewise used to create numerous objects (both religious and courtly) for various functions within the king's monarch and other religious circles. Under such circumstances, artistic creativity was central to the life of the African. There was no way that life would continue smoothly without the active services of art. The artist in these African social systems was highly respected and occupied a special rank in the social hierarchy. So as to control and rule the African people, the incoming foreigners had to destroy the strong ruling and religious systems and in their place, introduced their own cultures. In this manner Christianity went ahead by prohibiting its religious followers (converted from traditional beliefs and worship) from using or believing in any traditional religious artifacts.

The onset of colonialism on the other hand replaced the traditional African leadership systems and hence the artistic portrayal of kings, queens, and queen mothers became virtually useless. More deliberate efforts were made by colonial powers and Christian religious institutions to ensure a total destruction of African culture and henceforth African art. Islam, on the other hand, indirectly helped the colonial powers in destroying African art. As a religion, Islam prohibits its followers from portraying the human figure or any other beings in nature in the form of images. Such a strong belief greatly hampered artistic creativity of its followers since art in Islamic tradition was now only limited to plain geometric designs.

Given this brief introductory background my research problem, "How is art education relevant for the construction of a Tanzanian national cultural identity with the context of a hegemonic globalism?" requires that we know the relevance of art and art education in Tanzania. Tanzania became independent in 1961, an achievement that was essentially political rather than cultural or economic. From then on, Tanzania has struggled hard to make her political independence turn into a viable cultural and economic independence. Much has been achieved during this struggle for cultural identity and economic freedom, though foreign links continue.

The aim of this research is thus to attempt to find out whether art and art education taught in Tanzanian schools *are relevant to their central role as carriers and constructors of national culture and hence national identity.* This becomes a crucial question due to the fact that art education relevant to Tanzania's indigenous peoples (as mentioned above) was totally downgraded, if not prohibited during the colonial era. The study raises the effects of inter cultural conflicts, especially under circumstances when one of the cultures in question has for a long time been dominant over the other. The effects of intercultural conflicts on artistic creativity and art education by the dominated culture is central to the study. In my attempt to find out the relevance of artistic creativity and art education on Tanzania's national culture identity formation, a number of questions will be asked. Central to these questions will be the concern of the type of art produced and the art education offered in schools and colleges. Secondly, the study will call for the understanding of artistic creativity taking place outside the formal schooling system. The study will, as well, want to know what Tanzanian national policies govern the preservation of indigenous art forms, art education and contemporary art activities outside formal schooling. The study is important at this point in time since any review of relevant literature, (as will be shown in the literature review section) strongly suggests that art activities presently taking place in Africa and many other developing countries are foreign influenced and dominated.

Such literature also suggests that art education in Africa is offered with remarkable foreign perspective, thus lacking an inward local cultural reference and relevance. This study is much needed now, in a time of global identity crisis. During this postmodern era, the pressing question of identity crisis goes hand in hand with close questioning of the various traditional ways of knowledge seeking and the manner in which such knowledge has been interpreted and represented for academic and social consumption. This is the time when long standing and highly respected grand theories in human and natural sciences are being overhauled and looked into. Postmodern discourse seeks to go deeper into creating forums of discussion, interpretation and representation in all fields of knowledge. In their analysis of the prevailing global problem of crisis of representation in the human sciences, Marcus and Fischer (1986) assert that:

> Consequently, the most interesting theoretical debates in a number of fields have shifted to the level of method, to problems of epistemology, interpretation, and discursive forms of representation. These are issues that have been most trenchantly explored by philosophical and literary theories of interpretation - thus their prominence now as a source of inspiration for theoretical and self-critical reflection in so many disciplines. (p. 9)

In the field of art and art education, the problems of interpretation and representation are at present quite crucial in all societies of this postmodern world. In postcolonial cultures, (in societies that were once under colonial rule), these problems of interpretation and representation are even more complex.

The complexity arises from the fact that these societies were, for a long time, dominated and influenced by the ruling cultures. At the onset of colonialism, as already noted, the role of art in society was deliberately given a full stop. Many of the elegant spiritual sculptures were (if not burnt) sent to western metropolitan museums where they met their unceremonious lifeless existence. The traditional (local) interpretive and representational function of art in society thence died an unnatural death. In the absence of these traditional artistic means of interpretation and representation the ruled colonial societies were left bare, and thus forced to accept whatever means of interpretation and representation the colonizers introduced. In most colonized societies, and Tanzania in particular, no art was taught in schools and colleges during the colonial era, the role of art in society was completely lost. When the teaching of art was (re)-introduced after independence, its mode of creation and subsequent role in society took a foreign, western perspective. Art lost its close link and reference to society and assumed an alienated (from social issues) status, thus climbing the artificial ladder to the level of commodification, with money value! *How then is art with a commodity and money value able to be used in critical interpretation and representation of social values? How can such art be brought down the ladder of artificial, money oriented valuation to the ground level where the needy society resides? How can art with a history of its development grounded in Western values be used to serve the Tanzanian society of today and tomorrow? Can traditional forms of art be revived and modified for use in interpreting and representing contemporary Tanzanian social economic* *and cultural issues? Are there any factors that influence or hinder the role of art in contemporary Tanzanian society which is in no way separated from the present global system confronted by the problems of identity crisis?* These are among the questions that make this study inevitable. The construction of a Tanzanian national cultural identity rigorously questions the place of art in Tanzania as one of the means of facilitating such a needed constructive undertaking. The means and manner of social interpretation and representation of social issues through art need to be scrutinized and brought to terms with the present ways of seeing, understanding and knowing the world of being. The study intends to produce suggestions as to what could be done so as to make art education and art creation outside formal schooling become more useful to the Tanzanian society.

3.2 Methodology

3. 2.1 Sampling

The sampling procedure of the study follows a non-probability rather than an experimental design to a probability form. Non-probability sampling differs from probability sampling as Merriam (1988) says, quoting Chein,

> ...in probability sampling one can specify for each element of the population the probability that it will be included in the sample, whereas in non-probability sampling there is no way of estimating the probability that each element has some chance of being included. (p. 47).

Following the non-probability sampling form that avoids a rigid, predetermined selection, the samples included below only give an idea of what is to be observed, interviewed, or studied in the field. The selection does not in any way form a rigid sampling procedure to be strictly adhered to. The actual field work is the one that will give a better picture of what specific areas within samples to be studied more in depth and what samples to be paid less attention or completely eliminated due to their strengths or weaknesses in terms of supplying the relevant information for the study.

Merriam (1988) further discusses the non-probability sampling in accordance with Chein's "purposive" (1981) and Patton's "purposeful" (1980) conceptualizations. She states that:

> Purposive sampling is based on the assumption that one wants to discover, understand, gain insight; therefore one needs to select a sample from which one can learn the most. (p. 48).

Source of useful information is thus the key point in selecting samples for the study. The statistical random choice common in probability sampling will thus not be followed since this procedure involves chances of including both strong or rich and weak sources of information. The aim of the study design is to strengthen, widen, and increase the researcher's access to useful information during the specific time of the study. Non-probability sampling procedure thus followed enabled the researcher to make the best use of the time available for the field study. People interviewed were selected on their experience in terms of positions they served or have previously served in Tanzanian government or private sectors. Selection depended on these people's involvement in art or artistic activities in Tanzania and whenever applicable, abroad. Teachers and students in schools and colleges were selected according to their involvement in art activities including teaching and learning. In this case art teachers and those students who were actively involved and taking art as a subject.

In further support of the strength of this sampling procedure Goetz and Le Compte (1984) also sample their study similar to the purposive or purposeful form which they call "criterion - based" sampling. In this type of sampling, the researcher establishes reasons and standards that guide his or her selection of samples. The selection is not done blindly or through predetermined statistical random choices. The richness of the samples as sources of useful information act as central criteria for their inclusion in the study. Merriam (1988) discusses this type of sampling in accordance with Goetz and Le Compte. She points out that:

> Criterion - based sampling requires that one establish the criteria, bases, or standards necessary for units to be included in the investigation; one then finds a sample that matches these criteria. The researcher creates a 'recipe of the attributes essential to one selected unit and proceed(s) to find or locate a unit that matches the recipe.' (p. 48)

For purposes of this study, the selection of samples depended upon the nature of the study itself. The selection was guided by the "questions, concerns, and philosophical assumptions" Merriam (1988, pg. 50) established in the literature review and those based the researcher's experience on the field of study.

3.2.2 The Samples

Data for the research was collected from various sources. Since the research problem was centred on art education, more time was used in interviewing teachers and students in schools, colleges and the University of Dar-Es-salaam. Class observation was also done in some schools, colleges and the University of Dar-Es-salaam. This part of data collection provided information concerning the actual teaching of art in the classroom and how this teaching was related to developing or building a national cultural identity. Officials from the ministry of education and culture were interviewed concerning educational and cultural policies related to art, art education and the historical development related to art education policies.

To know more about the place and role of art in the Tanzanian culture, officials from the national arts council and the national museum were interviewed. The researcher also interviewed an official of Mwenge Makonde artists (carvers) so as to know their understanding of art and its role in national culture. Officials of Nyumba ya Sanaa (a private art training and creation centre) in Dar-Es-salaam were interviewed for the same purpose. These interviews provided more data concerning Tanzanian art, the export market and foreign influence on art creativity and development. Owners and officials of private galleries and curio shops were interviewed to know who were the contemporary buyers or collectors of Tanzanian art and what were the value standards related to such collecting and buying. From this emerged several "units of analysis" which were:

The Units of Analysis

- National cultural policy and the establishment and development of art, art education and the provision of art educators in Tanzania.

- Multiculturalism and multi-identities (through contacts with foreign nationals or countries) and the teaching and learning of art and art education in Tanzania.

- Foreign (expatriates) artists and art educators (working in Tanzania) and their influence on art creation and art education in Tanzania.

- Foreign trained Tanzanian artists and art educators and their influence on art and art education in Tanzania.

- Tourism and its effects on the development of art and art education in Tanzania.

- The role of art and art education in the construction of a national cultural identity.

3.3 The Population

3.3.1 Primary Schools

Three primary schools were involved in the study. Data was collected through interviewing the art teacher and/or the head teacher of every school.

3.3.2 Secondary Schools

Three secondary schools were involved in which art teachers and/or Headmasters were interviewed. Art classes were observed so as to see how teachers and students interpret art creativity and its relevance to national culture development and identity. Three art students in every school were interviewed after the class observation. The selection was random and done by the researcher. As the number of girls in the observed art classes was smaller than that of boys, only 3 girls were interviewed.

3.3.3 Colleges of Education

Three colleges were involved in the study. Art tutors and principals including three student teachers from every college were interviewed. In total 5 boys and 4 girls were interviewed. Art classes were observed in each of these colleges so as to see how tutors and student teachers interpret art creativity and its contribution towards building a national cultural identity.

3.3.4 The University of Dar-Es-salaam

The Department of Art, Music and Theatre of the University of Dar-Es-salaam was part of the study. Four faculty members were interviewed. Art classes in progress were observed. Three students were interviewed after class observation. Time was spent (by the researcher) in student studios so as to see how they interpreted art creativity, and its contribution toward building a national cultural identity. Completed art works by faculty members and students were also studied for the same purpose. Research materials (text) by faculty members and students were considered.

3.3.5 Ministry of Education and Culture

Two officials from the Ministry of Education and Culture were interviewed. One of these officials was directly involved with art education, research and evaluation. He was the inspector of art education in schools and colleges. These were individuals who were well informed on the role of art in society and the policies so established in the ministry to further the development of art.

To complement the interviews, various printed documents were collected. Documents concerning art education and culture policies were especially sought out. Art education and culture research documents included conference and workshop papers which were valued for the study's question.

3.3.6 The Institute of Education.

The interview involved two officials. The interviewees were the head of art, music and theatre curricula development and the head of the art curriculum department. The researcher also collected useful documents on art education here.

3.3.7 National Arts Council

The researcher interviewed one official from the National Arts Council. The interviewee, the head of the art department, was closely involved in art development and research.

3.3.8 The National Museum

The interview involved three officials who were in a good position to understand and talk about art and culture and the role of the National Museum in the building of a national culture. The researcher was also taken on a guided tour of the Village Museum in Dar-Es-salaam. The researcher collected relevant documents on art and culture, such as publications by museum officials.

3.3.9 Nyumba ya Sanaa

One official was interviewed.

3.3.10 Makonde Artists (carvers)

The researcher visited the Makonde arts centre in Dar-Es-salaam. One artist was interviewed. The artist had a lot of experience in carving and dealing with buyers of art works.

3.3.11 Private galleries and curio shops

An official from one curio shop and from one private gallery were interviewed.

3.3.12 The University of Dar-Es-salaam Library

Time was spent in the University of Dar-Es-salaam library - where relevant information concerning art, art education, and culture development in Tanzania was sought for.

3.4 Research Data Collection

3.4.1 Interviewing

Interviewing was a major part of the data gathering procedure. The interviewing process brought the researcher closer to the respondents, a thing which formal quantitative oriented questionnaires could not achieve. Direct conversation with the interviewees abled the researcher to gain insight into the respondent's feelings concerning the problems under discussion. This interpersonal interviewing accessed the researcher to the value structures of the respondents which was also expressed through body language. Merriam (1988) stresses the popularity of person to person interviews in educational research. She points out that:

> In case study research of contemporary education some and occasionally all of the data are collected through interviews. The most common form of interview is the person - to - person encounter in which one person elicits information from another. (p. 71)

A researcher is usually in search of information that contributes toward answering the research problem or provides information that enables a better understanding of the problem. For this matter, access to the required information is always imperative. And one of the most dependable means of getting information or feelings from a human being is through direct inter-person interviewing or conversation. Crane and Angrosino (1974) consider interviewing as an important and central way of getting relevant research data. They contend that: "... we may still be safe in saying that interviewing informants is a central part of the field of experience." (p. 55)

This conversational interviewing is carried on in such a way that the interviewee is directed or indirectly seduced to talk about certain issues; a talking that leads toward giving information which can help in the study. Merriam (1988) stresses the importance of interviewing in gaining access to human feelings and attitudes. She discuses this when referring to Patton by contending that:

> In qualitative case study research, the main purpose of an interview is to obtain a special kind of information. The researcher wants to find out what is in and on someone else's mind'. Paton (1980) explains further: `We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe. ... We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions. We cannot observe behaviour that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people have

> organized the world and meanings they attach to what goes on in the world - we have to ask people questions about those things. The purpose of interview, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective.' Interviewing is necessary when we cannot observe behaviour, feelings, or how people interpret the world around them. (p. 72)

It is however imperative to be cautious in handling individual people's value standards. People's opinions are subject to bias in one way or another. Individual opinions or judgements on particular aspects in life are subject to differ depending upon the respondent's personal historical circumstances and exposure to the issues under discussion. Crane and Angrosino (1974) comment on the issue of informant's individual opinions. They assert that:

> Nevertheless, since anthropologists are perennially interested in what people think about as well as what they do, we must continue to ask questions about people's values even though we realize the possible ambiguities of that approach. Hopefully impressions gleaned from ones informants will be supplemented by data gained from the analysis of folklore, personal documents or any other of the several other techniques ... The anthropologist builds up his knowledge of the culture he is studying by asking the same questions in a variety of ways. (pp. 54-55)

This study, likewise, called for an understanding of how people interpreted art and its role in contemporary Tanzanian society. The study also sought an understanding of how people in various historical societies and institutions in Tanzania interpreted the meaning of art and its role in society from the time Tanzania was first invaded by foreign culture to the present. All this information can not be obtained without interviewing people who have some experience concerning the problem of study.

3.4.2 Mode of Interviewing

Using both note-taking and audio-taping the informants were interviewed using a combination of semi-structured and unstructured open-ended questioning. There were a number of open ended questions that at times guided the questioning (see appendix A). These questions acted as guidelines and there was not any strict order or manner of questioning. Certain questions were not used, others were added depending on the situation of the interview, and on the nature of information gathered, and the type of interviewee who was giving the information. The researcher at times left aside all the guiding questions and depended totally on informal conversational interview through questions that developed spontaneously in the process of the conversation. Crane and Angrosino (1974) comment on the importance of flexibility on the researcher so as to give room for the respondent to fully express himself or herself. They assert that:

> Unstructured interviews, on the other hand, allow the ethnographer to use the 'happy accidents' of fieldwork to best advantage... The anthropologist's preoccupation with the given subject should not become an obsession. If the informant is really concerned with a personal problem or his attention has been captured by a new enthusiasm, he should be allowed to ramble in his discourse. It might cost some time and patience and upset the anthropologist's timetable, but most anthropologists feel that rigid timetables are difficult to adhere to, and that interesting information can often be gleaned from undirected discourse. Most important, the anthropologist realizes that in refusing to push the informant around in order to lead him back to the topic, he is building up good will, and acting as a good friend who is willing to take the informant's feelings and interests into account. (p. 58)

So as to maintain a sense of flexibility in interviewing, the use of semi-structured and unstructured questioning was essential. Merriam (1988) sees the importance of this mode of interviewing.

> In the semi-structured interview, certain information is desired from all the respondents. These interviews are guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored, but neither the exact wording nor the order of the questions is determined ahead of time. This format allows the researcher to respond to the

> situation at hand, to the emerging world view of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic. (p. 74)

On unstructured interviews Merriam (1988) says that they

> ...are particularly useful when the researcher does not know a phenomenon to ask relevant questions. Thus there is no predetermined set of questions and the interview is essentially exploratory. (p. 74)

Merriam (1988), however, is of the opinion that a combination of types of interviewing is commonly used by qualitative researchers. She asserts that:

> In most studies the researcher can combine all three types of interviewing so that some standardized information is obtained, some of the same open-ended questions are asked of all participants, and some time is spent in an unstructured mode so that fresh insights and new information can image. (p. 74)

The interviewer was cautious in using both the semi-structured and the unstructured style of questioning so as to have enabled the respondents to express themselves with ease and freedom in accordance with their knowledge and value standards of the problems under discussion. The semi-structured questions were not be asked in ways that might influence the responses. In discussing projects in anthropology, Crane and Angrosino (1974) stress the careful use of interviewing. They suggest that:

> as a result, the field worker must be acutely aware of the potential bias in these situations. There is a danger, of course, that the ethnographer by telling the informant what he wants to know, and how he wants that information collected, is forcing his informant to think in a way that is unfamiliar to him. The informant may end up telling the anthropologist only what the latter has indicated he wants to hear. ... Some degree of structuring is inevitable, to be sure, but the anthropologist must be continually on guard and must at all times encourage the informant to be spontaneous with his information. (pp. 52-53)

Referring to what has been suggested on interviewing procedures together with the researcher's personal experience, it was imperative to handle interviewing with care and patience. It was easy to deflect an informant's direction of thoughts and opinions through questioning. And this negative effect of questioning can be more detrimental when spontaneity in response of the interviewee was being sought. For this matter, the researcher did more listening than interruptive questioning so that more room was created for the respondents to freely express themselves.

3.4.3 Relevant Documents

The other major source of data was the search and collection of printed documents relevant to the study. As mentioned in the above section, useful printed materials such as papers (published and unpublished) presented at conferences, workshops or any other forums were studied. Whenever available, unpublished material written by individuals was also examined. In short, printed materials were requested at all places where interviews were conducted. Useful data for the study was also sought for in various party, governmental and non-governmental newspapers and magazines.

3.4.4 Class observation

Class observation in schools, colleges and at the University of Dar-Es-salaam was another source of data for the study. As mentioned above, this class observation took place in selected schools and colleges. The manner of selection of these schools and colleges was not intended to be rigid and predetermined. The final decision as to what particular schools and colleges visited was made by the researcher in Tanzania. The reason for this was because it was imperative for the researcher to have enough information about the schools and colleges that could guide him in picking resourceful schools and colleges. The sample involved schools and colleges that were actively involved in art and art education. [and those that weren't. This revealed some of the problems that hinder active involvement in art and art education].

3.4.5 Study and Analysis of Art works

An analysis of art works by students and those created by artists outside the schooling system was initiated. This analysis showed the relevance of this art to national culture building.

3.4.6 Open ended questionnaire

It was anticipated that the research time may not allow the researcher to interview some people who might be resourceful. For this reason a few open-ended questions were prepared and completed by such people so as to make use of their ideas. Ten respondents filled out the questionnaire.

3.5 Procedures

3.5.1 Travel to Tanzania

The field study was done in Tanzania, much of which was conducted in schools, colleges and the University of Dar-Es-salaam when students were not on holidays. The research took from May, 1994 to December, 1994. All interviews were conducted by the researcher. Permission to conduct research in Tanzania was sought through the Chancellor of the University of Dar-Es-salaam, who was the employer of the researcher.

3.5.2 Data Recording

Whenever permission was granted by the interviewee tape recording was used during interviews. This helped the researcher to have everything spoken (by both the interviewer and interviewee) well documented. When permission was not granted to tape record, interview responses were hand written by the researcher. This happened five times. In cases of respondents refusing to give information efforts were made to get similar or related information through other sources.

3.5.3 Travel to Edmonton

The final data analysis including additional library research was conducted at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. The researcher traveled back to Canada at the end of the field research. The writing up of the study (findings) and analysis took place at the University of Alberta from January, 1995 to August, 1997.

3.5.4 Data Analysis

The data analysis involved, among other things, the transcription of the audio tapes recorded in the field. An analysis of the 10 completed open ended questionnaires was done and its relevant information compared with the taped data. The collected reading materials were also explored and some of their relevant data used to supplement or reinforce the taped and observed information. The analysis involved grouping information from varying sources into common themes such as art examinations, problems of teaching materials, space and lack of teachers. Discussions around these themes were then compared for their relevance and reliability. The writing made use of the observed and voiced information that was well supported by extensive world wide published literature. Such an approach helps to give the reader a good picture of the place of art and art education in the construction of a Tanzanian cultural identity.

3.5.5 Limitations

A major limiting factor was the unwillingness of some people to be interviewed or choosing not to fill in the open-ended questionnaire. It was especially difficult sometimes to get the heads of some institutions to be interviewed. Whenever this happened, junior staff were assigned to me for the interviews. Adequate funding was also necessary to enable the researcher to travel to various regions where the (to be) selected schools and colleges were situated. However limited financial resources inhibited me from traveling to Songea Region. The Canadian Commonwealth Scholarship and

Fellowship Plan, The University of Alberta and The University of Dar-Es-salaam offered ample help in this. Another limiting factor was the availability of relevant publications and manuscripts (written by Tanzanians or about Tanzania) discussing the questions surrounding Tanzania's cultural identity politics and globalisation.

3.6 An Overview of my Thesis

The following chapters attempt to develop the questions raised by my thesis domain: How can art and art education help in the identity construction of a Tanzanian identity within hegemonic context of globalism? Chapters 1 to 3 are my initial thoughts on the issues facing Tanzanian art and art education. While Chapter 1 introduces the question of cultural identity construction, Chapter 2 deals with the foreign influences on African Art to give the reader a better understanding of the historical context. Chapters 4 through 9, while reporting the findings of my interviews in Tanzania, take a pragmatic look at Tanzania's art and art education. Chapter 10 onward take a critical approach to Tanzanian art and art education. Here I return to the question of cultural identity in a global context, examining in greater detail the question of post-colonialism and post-modernism which I lightly touched on in my introduction. Here I focus on the issues of difference as they relate to the concepts of the Third Space. In chapters 11 and 12, primarily looking at the journal *Third Text,* I discuss the contradictions of art and art education given the global situation and end in Chapter 13 by discussing the implications of my study for Tanzanian identity. Chapters 10 through 13 are therefore a critical reflection on my research. In other words, Chapters 10 to 14 refine the issues developed in Chapters 1 to 3 based upon the data collected and reported in Chapters 3 through 9.

CHAPTER FOUR

Art in Tanzanian Schools and Colleges

My general research problem reads, "Can art and art education indeed be used in the construction of a Tanzanian national cultural identity? If so, what might be the possible directions for such a proposition to take effect? This calls for an analysis, presented below, of the present trends and roles of art and art education in Tanzania. Such an analysis is based on a discussion of findings obtained from my field research in Tanzania 1994-1995. This discussion is guided by three questions:

1. To what degree has art and art education been established in Tanzanian Schools and Colleges?
2. What do the specific sectors of the artistic cultural infrastructures consider to be the role of art and art education in society?
3. Is art and art education in Tanzania indeed being affected by the postmodern global postcolonial hegemony as assumed?

Following this discursive analysis, a treatise concerning the question of National Tanzanian Identity and art will mark the conclusion. It is expected that art and art education have to negotiate the difficult relationship between nationality and the hegemony of a postcolonial postmodern world.

4.1 Description of Respondents

A brief description of some of the respondents quoted in the discussion of the study is listed under appendix B. I have done this description with their consent. For those interviewees who chose to remain anonymous, nothing of their identity has been revealed. It should be noted that I was not able to get some of the first names of the quoted respondents. In such cases only second names (without their initials) are used.

4.2 Why has art and art education not been well established inTanzanian School and Colleges?

The development of art and art education in Tanzania has faced many obstacles from the colonial times to date. This research, among many other things, creates an opportunity for interviewees to be involved in discussion with the researcher in an attempt to bring to light such developmental obstacles. Below is an analysis of such discussions in relation to the state's role, and development of art and art education in schools and colleges.

The research strongly points out that there is not much art taking place in schools in Tanzania. There is very limited, if any, teaching and learning of art at this crucial stage of child development. Many reasons have presented themselves through interviews or shown themselves through observations of art classes and reading of relevant literature.

4.2.1 The State of Art in Colonial Tanzania

The research suggests that some of the factors affecting the teaching and learning of art in schools could be traced back to colonial times. For purposes of this research, the colonial time here refers to the British period from 1919 up to 1961 when Tanzania become independent.

Teaching of art in schools started to be neglected right from British Colonial times. The British Colonial administration regarded the teaching of art in African schools as unimportant compared to other subjects like mathematics, English and geography. Art as a subject - for reasons given below - was not included in the colonial African school curriculum. Art was only taken as a hobby in those schools which had teachers or groups of students interested in the subject. There were also some rare cases where African heads of schools who were interested in art introduced the teaching of the subject in their schools. But this was very much an informal arrangement compared to, for instance, East Indian schools in the same colonial country, which had art teaching formally included and emphasized in their curriculum. Elias Jengo, professor in the Department of Art Music and Theatre, University of Dar-Es Salaam comments:

> But you must not forget that during the colonial administration it was only African schools that didn't have art. Indian schools had art. European schools had art. Don't forget that.

For that matter the teaching and learning of art for the Africans was neither prohibited nor encouraged. There was no clear policy concerning the teaching and development of art in African schools. During colonial Tanzania there were separate schools for each of the three races of Europeans , Indians and Africans. Prof. Jengo comments on this issue by stating that:

> Well, as I have told you, there was art in this country before the colonial regime came into being. And art was taught through apprenticeship; that is, you have people learning an art under a master carver or a master dramatist or a master poet. You know that? That is the system any great masters in Europe passed through: Apprenticeship. Now when formal schooling came in Tanzania, during the colonial period, there was a very vague policy on the development of art or the visual arts. . . .Headmasters who were very fond of the subject, introduced it in their schools. Headmasters who were not interested in this subject, didn't care much about it, and that is why I am saying there was no clear policy. Art was not a compulsory subject either in the primary school or in the secondary school. Now some of us were lucky to pass through a primary school which encouraged handicrafts, clay modelling and so forth.

Most schools took handicrafts to mean art, while in this way excluding essential areas of art - such as drawing, painting design and decoration, sculpture and art history. In crafts, students only concentrated on making domestic utilities such as brooms, wooden spoons, and some limited pottery and clay modelling. In this way, the teaching and learning of art was very much limited even in those schools where heads of schools had an interest in the subject.

The same attitude of the British colonial administration of sidelining art education is expressed by Enea Muhando, a self-taught artist and linguist tutor who received part of his education during the colonial period. Muhando has the opinion that:

> Well, I went to school in the colonial days through my elementary school - being first to eight grade; eight years of primary education. Then secondary school, I had form one and two. What I can say is this: That the curriculum during the colonial times did not very much emphasize art. But I think and I should say this very clearly; I think they did not directly discourage art in the sense that in the middle school we had domestic science for the girls or home craft where they could weave and they could cook and dress salads and stuff like that. So there was art in that little bit of it, though a little bit detached from the traditional experience. And then for the young men, there was carpentry and tin smithery and brick laying and you could see some of these blending with the traditional experience to some extent. But unfortunately, the British scheme of education was terminal; terminal in the sense that people go to school in order to reach just a certain stage; in order to help the 'white masters', and to perform their functions effectively. So you could have a craftsman to help an engineer. So it would be a British engineer being helped by a bricklayer - 'black' brick layer.

The colonists, as implied from Muhando's contention, only emphasized subjects that could mould their African servants into profitable labourers. That is why disciplines like domestic science (homecraft), carpentry, bricklaying, and tin smithery featured prominently in the curriculum. Art for them, especially drawing painting, design, sculpture and art history, did not have any immediate use for the proper functioning of the colonial government. In this case, art for the colonial administration, was marginalised, if not totally set aside.

John Masanja, a lecturer in art at the University of Dar-Es-Salaam, has an interesting narrative concerning the way art education was treated in schools during his early school age. Masanja, who was then very eager to learn art, tells his story of how he was desperately looking for an art teacher. Masanja narrates that:

> I went to school in Arusha, one of the big towns in Tanzania. In our African school there was no art at all in the syllabus - in the timetable. However, in other Indian schools there was art in the timetable and in the syllabus, as well as in the European schools. So these people (Indians and Europeans) could get a lot of activity; could get a lot of practice in art while we didn't have that chance. What we did was that - we just picked a pen or a pencil and a paper and tried to draw. Nobody came to assist us. No colour, no whatever. So you find that primary schools during those times had no access to art. There were hardly any art teachers. I came to learn however, that there was an art teacher when I went to a (joined) middle school; if at all there was one. That is when I heard about Professor Elias Jengo - by then he was not yet a professor, I went to a school where he used to teach and I didn't find him. I just found his pictures. By then he had gone to Makerere University for studies. So I missed him. But because I liked to draw; and I openly expressed such desires to people in that school, I was told, Oh! unfortunately you couldn't find someone known as Jengo. He was here!' I could see the pictures. And he was teaching art not as a subject, but as a society or as a hobby. So those people who wanted to learn art did go to his home and do drawing, painting and so on.

It was very difficult to find a place where someone would study art during colonial Tanzania. The colonial administration treated the teaching and learning of art as unimportant for Africans. This attitude contributed towards excluding art as a compulsory subject in schools. The teaching and learning of art depended on the whims of the head of a particular school. In considering the present trend of education in Tanzania, it is very likely that the Tanzanian Ministry of Education has carried forward this negligence in providing consistent art education. The research does show this possible link between the past colonial treatment of art education and the place art occupies in the present Tanzanian education system. In attempting to establish this link, Jengo talks of the way the British government treated art inside Britain. Jengo stresses that the British government itself was not very sure of the place of art and art education in national development. Jengo discusses this issue with reference to the views of a prominent art education writer, Hebert Read.

Jengo states that:

> The colonial administration had no clear policy, and I know that this is something to do with British education or the British distrust of the visual arts. And the present curriculum has inherited this from the colonial administration. . . .So this is a legacy; this is something which has been inherited from the British administration of this country. Hebert Read, a British writer on art education - oh! - has complained about this in his book `Education Through Art'. The British themselves were not quite clear as to why we should teach art and what does art do to the mental growth of the children. And this has been written by a British writer-philosopher. So this has been documented...Still, I think we have inherited this lack of emphasis in teaching of art from the colonial administration. I think we have.

4.2.2 The State of Tanzania's Art Education After Independence

After independence in 1961, Tanzania was free to establish its own educational system; an education system that would provide the necessary trained peoplepower to push ahead the development of the country. Various subject disciplines were given priority towards preparing young Tanzanians for national development. At this crucial point in time art education was again seen, as unnecessary. The contribution of art in national development was not visualized by these policy makers; most of whom had received their education under the colonial system, and were now planning for the future of Tanzania under the influence of their past education. Art was again sidelined. This state has not changed much to the present day. Philemon Mwasanga, an artist and official of the Tanzania Art Council does comment on how art education was treated at the time of transition from colonial rule to independence and there after. Mwasanga states that:

> A lot of work is needed to be done on the development of art. Because, you know, from independence, as far as I know, if you go to the colonial period, and immediately after attaining independence, nobody paid attention on art. It didn't ring in people's minds that art is a major subject, although in reality nobody can do without art. You see? So art was not given any priority... be either in the colonial times or after colonial period.

Masanja explains why art education in "politically independent" Tanzania was not given its due respect as a potential subject for social, cultural and economic development. He talks of education planners at independence, stressing that:

> ...to put the curriculum into perspective or into practice, they didn't see the use or the value of art... and those are the ones who went through colonial schools. Therefore their vision was even blurred. They couldn't see anything of value in art because they didn't find it (art) in the schools. So they didn't find it so potential and so essential.

4.2.3 Summary

Art started to be neglected in Tanzania right from colonial times. The British administrators did not put any emphasis on the teaching of the subject. The same thing continued to happen after independence in 1961. This subject has remained an unimportant discipline of learning and has especially continued to be devalued in primary schools, secondary schools and Teachers Training colleges. The subject has continued not to be taught in all primary schools in Tanzania. There are many reasons that have surfaced during the research to explain why art education has been neglected in Tanzania. Art is taught (and in most cases quite inefficiently) in very few secondary schools. In some teacher education colleges, students study art education, but its teaching and learning is questionable. The University of Dar-Es-Salaam teaches art and art education, but there are still many problems which hinder this teaching and learning situation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Art in Primary Schools

What follows is a discussion of the reasons that were discussed during the research, as to why art and art education are so downgraded and underdeveloped in Tanzanian schools and colleges.

5.1 Lack of Art Teachers

Similar problems have, and are still affecting the teaching and learning of art in schools and colleges. Of the many institutions, primary schools have been most affected. Art was introduced in the primary school syllabus after 1967 following the restructuring of Tanzania's education system. This restructuring of the education system was in response to Tanzania's first President, Julius Nyerere's directions on Education for Self Reliance in 1967 (Nyerere, Education for Self Reliance, 1967). But even after these educational changes, the art subject continued to be neglected. Hence there is virtually no teaching and learning of art in primary schools in Tanzania. In these schools, you find many children who are eager to learn art but they are deprived of the chance. Whenever someone goes to any primary school in Tanzania and asks the question, "Is art being taught in your school?" the most ready answer that is always given is: "Well, the subject is in the timetable, but there are no teachers to teach it." Both the question and the answer are genuine, and actually tend to form the basic barrier affecting the teaching and learning of art in primary schools. Primary school teachers in Tanzania, and in fact in many parts of the world, are expected to be able to teach any subject. It is a policy of the ministry of education that any primary school teacher should be able to teach any subject any time, and in fact this administrative decision has not done any good. Art and music, for example, are subjects that most primary school teachers in Tanzania do not have the slightest clue how to teach. In fact this situation results from a vicious circle. These teachers are the ones who have studied in these same primary and secondary schools that do not teach art. When they go to Teachers Training colleges to learn to be teachers, the education they receive in these subjects (art and music) is too scanty to enable them to confidently guide primary school children. Muhando responds to the problem of unavailability of adequate art teachers in primary schools by observing how the subject is taught:

> Very sketchily, very, very sketchily - sometimes you even wonder. Art is taught like it is not taught. First of all we look at the curriculum. Art is not properly taught in the sense that the teacher is not trained effectively in the arts. They come here in the teachers college; they are given art lessons almost at their subsidiary level.

Primary school teachers do not graduate with enough education for art teaching because most, if not all of them, join teacher education colleges without any basic education in art - neither primary nor at the secondary level. At college, these teachers learn art and art education "right from scratch", while doing all the other required subject courses. This situation is easily understood when compared with the learning of subjects like geography, languages, and history; student teachers already have ample academic knowledge about them. With these other subjects, student teachers normally have plenty of time studying teacher education (subjects) since their (already familiar) teaching subjects do not at this time require much time to study. For art student teachers, much of their time is needed for studying art, if they really want to have some meaningful exposure on the subject. But in these Teachers Training colleges there is virtually no time for intense academic training in art. Concerning the lack of adequately trained teachers in art, Macha, a tutor at Morogoro teachers college, observes, "First of all I would say, lack of trained teachers. In primary schools we don't have trained teachers in fine art."

Kundy, an art curriculum developer at the Institute of Education, Dar-Es-Salaam remarks on what is facing the teaching of art in primary schools. He notes that:

> So we have this syllabus in our schools, but we find that we don't have trained teachers to do what is in this document. That is one problem. So you find in our primary schools teachers are told to, 'Okay, you teacher number one, you are going to teach art in standard one. Teacher number two, you are going to teach art in standard three.' But these teachers have no experience. They have never attended any (serious) course in their training. So it is very difficult for them to teach something which they have no knowledge about. And this is one cry by teachers. They tell you, `can't you organize so that we get a very short seminar to enlighten us on such issues,' I mean in skills of art, which they don't know. So, yah, I tell them, 'Okay, when it is possible, then we may organize a seminar, so that you can get trained.'

Frank Sika, an art tutor at Morogoro College of Education, Tanzania, who was at different times, in the past, a teacher in primary and secondary schools, talks of his past experience as a head teacher in a primary school. Sika narrates the difficulties teachers faced in teaching art:

> The thing or issue that I had emphasized more was that these teachers didn't have much education on art, so this was making them unable to know how and where to start in the teaching of the subject. And even if you guided the teacher on how to approach the teaching of the subject, he or she could hardly follow. This was also the time when, myself had not been trained in art. So I would tell them to use their surroundings or environment for source of inspiration. But even in this way - they were not able to use their surroundings because they didn't have the basic knowledge concerning art teaching, and art as a subject. They weren't able even to imagine how they would use the environment in creating an art work. They were not on their own, able to create art works that they could use as demonstration for the students. Such basic knowledge of art was not there...and even if some teachers had some basic art education...which they learnt in colleges ...many of them weren't that able to use it or they didn't learn much due to the fact that some of such teachers didn't have the interest in learning art...in the same way this subject is taught here in the college. (My

own translation).

Discussing this issue of unavailability of adequately trained art teachers, a primary school teacher in Dar-Es-salaam expresses her dissatisfaction on the way art is supposedly taught in primary schools. She emphasizes that:

> Art is actually not taught in primary schools. The subject is on the timetable but it is not taught at all. Teachers are assigned to teach the subject but all of them are unable to do so because they are not trained to handle the subject. The ministry knows these problems but still comes to inspect us to see whether and how the subject is taught. We strongly express our situation, but nothing changes.

Mbwambo, an artist and inspector of schools with the ministry of education, also recognizes this need for having a conducive environment for art teaching. He particularly emphasizes the provision of schools with art teachers and teaching and learning materials. He strongly contends that:

> Schools should create a better environment for the teaching of fine art and art education by buying art materials and allocating qualified art teachers to schools and, to make sure that they teach the subject.

On responding to the question as to whether art is taught in primary schools or not, Prof. Jengo, readily answers that:

> They don't. They don't teach art at all. ...There is a vacuum. You know art is taught in the kindergarten, in the nursery school. When these chaps go to primary school, they don't practice it. When you ask the primary school teachers and I think you are going to ask them; 'why don't you teach art here?' They respond, `Hey, we do have art in the timetable but we don't have a competent teacher to teach the subject'.

The absence of art teaching in primary schools has a very devastating effect on the attitude of children on the subject at higher levels of education. In the first place, children in primary schools start by being misdirected to regard art as unimportant in society; and hence being made to think and believe that this is the reason why its teaching is not emphasized.

5.2 Lack of Art Final Examination

When art is not taught, while other "academic" subjects like history, science, and Kiswahili language are given due respect, students immediately regard art as irrelevant for their future careers. In this way, the status of art and its place in human, social economic and cultural development becomes mystified. Children are made to see art as a subsidiary subject not worth thinking about. Jumbani realizes these effects of sidelining the teaching of art in primary schools. In discussing this issue Jumbani points out another fundamental factor for its low status. This college of education tutor and vice principal notes that art is included in the curricula (and timetable), and incompetent teachers are assigned to teach the subject. But worse still the subject is not included in the list of examinable subjects at the end of primary education. In Tanzania, excellent performance in the final primary education examinations is the only sure way of securing a place in government funded secondary schools, students automatically put more pressure and effort on studying examinable subjects. According to the 1993 Tanzania Integrated Education Policy, "Currently only 15% of the primary school graduates continue to secondary education level." Therefore, even if a student is fond of learning art, he or she won't put more devotion and time in a subject that doesn't feature in the crucial final examinations. The Tanzania Integrated Education and Training Policy (1993) explains well the importance of examinations and hence examinable subjects. It is indicated that performance in examinable subjects has a direct effect on the examinee's future. Good performance in examinations directly determines someone's chances of being selected for further education, training and eventually getting employment. This is definitely a source of inequality to the Tanzanian society. Those students (the majority) who do not secure funds to enable them to join private secondary schools stay home and hence are denied the so valuable higher education in life. But this situation is unavoidable for a country like Tanzania - a country that has limited resources to fund for universal secondary education. Tanzanians with their limited economic resources are sacrificing secondary education for all so as to barely afford universal primary education. However, The Tanzania Integrated Education and Training policy outlines the academic intentions of examinations by stating that:

> Examinations are intended to monitor, evaluate and reinforce the realization of set aims and objectives of education and curricula. They are also used to monitor the proper implementation of the curricula, to measure student progress and achievement for certification and selection for further education, training and employment. (p. 59)

Parents who are a major supportive force in student performance in school, tend to disregard the importance of a subject that is not examinable at school. In the case of art learning in primary schools, parents do not encourage and often discourage their children from putting or spending much time doing a subject that is not examinable. Parents as well are made to believe that art is not worth spending the effort. Jumbani, an art tutor, mentions:

> The problem that I see is how does the Tanzanian government define the role of art in Society? ...As I am saying, the kind of impression which is felt by various people is that art is not significant. They say it is not significant because it is not examinable, just like many other subjects which are examinable by the National Examination Council. To them, examination is the sole source of the value of a certain subject. In which case, in the end of the day, they will expect some employment from the government. Because in the end of the day, you will have to show what grade you did score from that subject. And that grade is the one which will guarantee you employment from a certain employer on any government department. ...When, for instance, you consider from the primary one (Class one) up to primary Seven (Class seven) art is not

> examinable. And that is the basis; and the selection to secondary school is determined by the grade you score in these subjects on the National Examination Council. Since art is not included, people feel it is not useful, so there is a tendency for parents to convince; actually not to convince; to force their children not to take art because it is not useful. `How would it help you? It won't help you to go to secondary school!' ...So for me, I would have said that the Ministry of Education should do something about it. They could provide room whereby the students who are interested, if not all, should do some examination in the end of their primary school course. And these grades would carry them forward to other higher levels of training. In that way people will get confidence. They will also see the value of art. To me, it is stupid talking of art as useful at higher levels when at the base we do not have anything that is happening. They see mathematics being taught, they see geography being taught; and the sciences. And so to them, they make the students also to get the idea 'Okay these are useful things. If art is useful, why don't we study it from the beginning until the higher levels?'

Primary school teachers are forced to teach art, a subject about which they have no proper knowledge and teaching ability. Teachers assigned to teach art find themselves helpless and thus to avoid the embarrassment resulting from incompetence they leave the class to tend itself. Masanja emphasizing on lack of examinations in art, narrates that:

> Art in primary schools is not an examinable subject, therefore by the end of the year it is not examined as mathematics or English or any other subject. Well, since it is not examined, why bother? So even the teachers are not interested in teaching art. They can take it as a subject whereby they can go and relax; especially the women who are teaching primary school. This is where they do their hair - plaiting, knitting, correcting exercise books; writing lesson notes and so on . These are the things which they are doing now. You go to a primary school, you'll find it. I did find someone in one school where art is being taught ...just because that teacher is only interested and it is not that it has been given emphasis; it is just because of interest. So the most important problem we are facing now is at grass roots; from the primary schools.

On the question of art teaching and learning in schools, a primary school teacher in Dar-Es-salaam expresses the importance of examinations in making subjects appear important. The teacher stresses that:

> We don't teach art in our school because there are no trained teachers able to teach the subject. Another major factor that makes art less important in primary schools is because it does not appear in the final examinations. Why should someone spend time studying a subject that won't make any contribution

> in the final examinations? Art not being examined, makes both students and teachers, together with the Ministry of Education less serious about the subject.

Muhando talks of this effect of examinations on the development of art teaching in primary schools. He states that the attitude of teachers toward art in relation to examinations is worth noting. Muhando comments that:

> ... I think the sheer fact that this subject is not tested and most of the people are struggling toward passing examinations. Passing examinations you know? Our education is examination oriented. A head teacher, unless he is an enthusiast of art, he would like his kids to pay much more attention to subjects that will give them higher scores. So I guess very, very little attention is given to the fine arts academically.

The absence of final art examinations in primary school is a major factor in denying active teaching and learning of the subject. This reason has been strongly emphasized throughout this section of the study. In responding to this issue of examinations in art Prof. Jengo refers to what primary school teachers say when confronted by the question of dwindling emphasis on primary school art education. He states:

> Another reason apart from having no teachers with competent skills; teachers say that if the subject is not examined like mathematics and history, why teach it?

The study strongly points that teachers and students are not the central cause of inadequate teaching and learning of art in primary schools. The study suggests that students and teachers are simply left in a dilemma. Teachers, most of whom do not have the ability to teach art, are forced to do so by the Ministry of Education. This ministry, which clearly knows that primary schools do not have competent art teachers, indirectly forces the teaching of the subject by directing its inclusion in the school timetables. Head teachers are consequently compelled to assign any available teachers to teach the subject. But due to incompetence, such teachers fail to offer meaningful teaching in art. Even those teachers who have the enthusiasm to attempt to teach the subject are to some extent discouraged by the mere absence of final class seven art examinations. In Tanzania, acquiring entrance into secondary education is highly competitive for primary seven students. In the presence of this intense competition, teachers, as noted above, tend to concentrate on teaching examinable subjects. Students on the other hand are confronted by these intense secondary education entrance examinations, and therefore regard learning art as a sheer waste of time and energy. The Tanzania Integrated Education and Training Policy (1993) states the importance of this Standard VII Examination by noting that:

> The Standard VII examination is a Primary School Leaving Examination marking completion of primary education cycle and it is used for selection of students in Secondary education. (p. 59)

Students also realize that art does not have any effect on their final exam performance. Under such circumstances, teachers do not teach and students take the chance to do other things. Macha recognizes this dilemma when discussing the state of art teaching and learning in primary schools. He says:

> First of all I would say lack of trained teachers. In the primary schools we don't have trained teachers in fine art. And another problem is, as I said, is teaching materials. When I am talking about teaching materials, I mean right from text books. No text books, no syllabus; no teaching materials in the classrooms. And another problem is the wrong attitude of the head teachers. You see, a teacher for instance, when a new teacher reports to the school, he is given subjects such as history, geography and so on. And then when he has already got enough load to teach, it is when he is given to teach fine art, as an extra, unimportant subject. And another problem is that the subject is not being examined in standard seven. And so, even the students cannot be interested. There is no motivation you know, when the pupils know that there is an examination to seat for at the end of their primary studies, then, of course, they will work hard towards learning that subject. But there is no examination, so the teachers say, well, after all there is no examination, why should we waste time teaching the subject? You see, that is another problem. I think this is one

> of the most affecting problems. I would say that there is no motivation. Actually, on the part of the pupils themselves and on the part of the teacher...no motivation. So even if there are few pupils who are talented; they find themselves being discouraged.

Kundy developer, adds his observation on the problem of examination by noting that:

> ...So in our schools you find art actually is never given enough point. And another reason is that art is never examined in our primary schools. Now when it is never examined, then there is no need for anyone to work; to strain; because, you know, people work for examination. You find people in our schools learn because there are examinations. Now when there is no examination, there is no need for you to spend time on the subject.

Referring to the preceding discussion, the lack of trained teachers for art and the subject itself not being examined have contributed to the non-existence of effective art education in primary schools. However, the research strongly indicates that there are other factors that affect this teaching of art.

5.3 Lack of Teaching and Learning Facilities

As mentioned by Macha above, teaching facilities are always important in making the teaching of art much easier and more meaningful. Following my observation in the schools I visited in Dar-Es-Salaam and upcountry Tanzania, primary schools lacked teaching facilities for art. Going into the classrooms, places where art teaching is expected to take place, one is amazed by the size of classes. At this school, a classroom that is meant to accommodate forty five students is normally packed with eighty to ninety students - twice its normal capacity. Apart from class one and class seven students who all have to sit on desks, the rest of the school is not guaranteed desks or places to sit on. In every class there are a few desks for which a small group of lucky students (who come early on the first day of the year) sit on.

Otherwise, most kids sit on the floor and use their tiny thighs as make shift desks. Well, someone could ask "why not, place your paint paper and other art materials on the floor?" This could be possible only if the classroom was not densely packed. With ninety students in a forty five capacity room it is unimaginable to hold a successful art class. It would probably be possible to do clay modelling or pottery outside, possibly under the shade of trees, but the situation would be intolerable for activities like painting, printmaking and design due to several interruptions such as strong winds, dust and rain together with the lack of supporting painting or drawing boards. This existing poor state of primary schools infrastructure and facilities is well explained in the Tanzania Integrated Education and Training policy (1993) . It is stated that:

> At present, the school environment at the primary school level is very poor and unconducive to learning. Pupils attend classes in poorly constructed and ill-equipped schools. It is estimated that about 70% of 10,400 primary schools are in an appalling state of disrepair, and therefore, need urgent rehabilitation. Furthermore, essential facilities such as instructional materials, are seriously in short supply. (p. 33)

Regarding art materials, the schools do not provide any of that. Children have to buy their own art supplies including stationery for other subjects. The Tanzania Integrated Education and Training policy (1993) realizes the inadequate supply of school instructional materials. It is noted that:

> In addition to poor school environment, most primary schools have few or lack completely instructional materials. In most primary schools there is an acute shortage of exercise books, textbooks and teacher's guides. (p. 34).

But the study indicates that only a few students have parents who are willing to support them and who, at the same time, can afford the high prices demanded for art materials. Kundy makes a remark on this issue of art materials and getting parental support. He observes that:

> ... pupils are never given enough of support to pursue or to do art in our schools. We find that when a teacher gives pupils some homework to do... a teacher can assign the pupils to go home and make any kind of art and come to school with that art on the next day. Now you find that these people, I mean the parents, won't allow their children to take things from home and make what the teacher required them to do or if the pupils ask for some little money to go and buy something so as to make their art, they won't get parental support...so that is one way you can learn how art is not taken seriously here.

In the light of what has been discussed, it is strongly indicated that art teaching and learning in Tanzanian primary schools is almost non-existent. In this case, the Ministry of Education, which is supposed to oversee the education activities in the country should have policies to bring about this state of affairs. The study tends to show that the Ministry of Education and Culture does not offer the expected support for the survival of art education in primary schools. As noted above, this ministry does not seem to have a comprehensive policy that directs the planning for art activities in schools. Planning, provision and management of art in schools is apparently not taken seriously due to the absence of a comprehensive policy. Apart from this absence of a comprehensive policy, the study indicates that the Ministry of Education and Culture officials concerned with art education do not quite realise the place and value of the subject in both the life of Tanzanian children, and the country's social, economic and cultural development at large.

5.4 Absence of a Comprehensive Policy for Art Education

Respondents in the study have expressed their deep-rooted concerns regarding the absence of seriousness on the side of the Ministry of Education and Culture. When discussing about cultural policy, which in this case involves art education, Prof. Jengo, comments that:

> Another thing which we should remember is the lack of a coherent cultural policy in this country. Tanzania lacks a clear cultural policy. We have been talking about this for many years but steps have not yet been fully taken . I think five years ago, there was a meeting of experts within Tanzania to come up with a cultural policy. Once we have a clear cultural policy, I am sure all schools will have art. Now there is no policy, like during the colonial times, people who like art just invite art teachers to come and teach it. So the country has no clear policy. Many people think that the Ujamaa policy on the Arusha declaration was the basis of our cultural policy on education for self-reliance. That education given to this country must develop an inquisitive mind, and must inculcate Tanzanian values. But these are only words; there is nothing that suggests that although art can cultivate intellectual curiosity and other things, there is no guarantee that people will include it in the timetable. There must be a follow up.

Due to the absence of a clear policy on the development of Tanzanian art and art education, planners have neglected fulfilling the requirements of the subject in schools. Education planners have been undermining the existence of art education under the expense of developing other subject disciplines which they regard to be beneficial for national development. Art education, to them, is not worth spending the energy and national resources. In this way, things like art materials, teaching space, textbooks on art and the provision of an up-to-date syllabus have been hard hit. Prof. Jengo's comment "...Now there is no policy, like during the colonial times, people who like art just invite art teachers to come and teach it. So the country has no clear policy..." reminds me of my past experiences as an art educator. Art tuition, whether formal or informal is still very rare in Tanzania. There are many talented people, young and old, who do not easily find access to art education.

In 1971, after successfully completing my secondary school education (grade twelve) I was selected to join Tabora Boy's High School in Tabora, Tanzania, to study science subjects (physics, chemistry and biology). Although I was selected to study science, I still had a strong desire to continue studying art. By then, art, as a subject, was not being offered at the high school level of education (grades thirteen and fourteen). Thus, I was forced to look for private art tuition, which I luckily secured. I received free private art instruction from a tutor at Tabora Teachers College who went by the name of Brother John. Brother John's instruction was very helpful to me and in fact did make a big contribution towards my present career, as an art educator. Through Brother John's instruction, and the formal art education I had previously received from Mr. Mhaskar at Dodoma Secondary School, in Dodoma, Tanzania, I was able to secure a Teachers' College admission to study art and biology at Diploma level at Dar-Es-salaam Teacher's College in 1973. This was a turning point in my career. After graduation I had the necessary qualifications which enabled me secure admission at the University of Dar-Es-salaam to study art in 1977. I was thus able to train as an artist instead of a scientist, such as a doctor.

A similar experience happened to me in 1982 when a group of primary school students approached me, asking for art instruction. By this time, I was teaching art at the University of Dar-Es-salaam. Knowing the problems of securing art tuition in Tanzania, I agreed to give these young children free art tuition. Some of these students continued with the art career through personal practice and are presently practicing in Tanzania as commendable artists. Godfrey Mwampembwa and Robert Mwampembwa are living examples of this group of students.

Macha comments on policy makers and education planners when responding to the question of the Ministry of Education and Culture for not putting any emphasis on art education. He expresses his concerns by stressing that:

> Yah, I think so. Yes, the policy has some contribution towards the deterioration of priority on teaching fine art. I quite believe that, because, as I said, materials are no longer being imported for teaching art, and of course, even the curriculum developers were not much interested in fine art. You see! so there are no text books; not even trained teachers. Sometimes even the syllabuses were out of date. And even most schools don't have copies of these syllabuses. You see!! So policy might have something to contribute to the deterioration of fine art.

As pointed out above, the Ministry of Education appears not to mind whether art is taught or not. If the Ministry was concerned about the proper teaching of art in primary schools, the prevailing problems facing art education would not be so severe. The ministry seems to have the finance and ability to develop other disciplines in education, but when it comes to art, the ready response is: "There are not enough resources". It is true that Tanzania is not a rich country, and hence there are financial constraints confronting the nation's development plans. But why was art education the hardest hit? Why are other subjects being taught, and art completely set aside in this crucial early age of children's educational and mental growth? If the teaching of art was substantially attempted - so that there were even a few primary schools with well developed art education, then one could easily believe that finances were the core problem. It is my belief that the central issue affecting art education in Tanzania is the inability of the Ministry of Education and Culture to understand and appreciate the role of art in society. It is a policy and planning concern. Prof. Jengo attempts to bring this to light when responding to the question of art in primary school timetables. He contends that:

> It is not taught at all and Malecela; I always quote Malecela. Malecela said something very deep; very meaningful; that most of these cultural programs are the least to be understood by the planners. Now he said this in 1970. I always quote him: In a country people should not only concern themselves with

> economic growth, that I am going to be a doctor; I am going to make money; or I am going to be a businessman. There are things that are so valuable, cultural, spiritual, but the cultural aspects are the least understood by the planners. And I always agree with him. The cultural aspects of development are not understood. They are not understood at all by most planners...whether educational planners or economic planners. But these will take time. And we must also remember that in all countries, whether rich or poor, cultural programs, suffer if they depend on the government sponsorship or patronage. In Europe and America, promotion of culture is by non-governmental sources. Private businessmen to build galleries; private business to patronize or to act as patrons to the artists. Not the central government. ...Now, if we are going to have a cultural policy; it must take into account the contribution of artists in society. Because they do contribute in textile design; advertising, book illustration, everything. But these things are not known by the planner. They are not known. That an artist can layout a book -- a graphic artist. You see!! They are not known. They are the least understood. According to Malecela and according to myself.

It is very likely that policy makers and education planners are unaware of the place and role of art in society. These officials, who are key people in making sure that adequate education is offered at the right time to the children of Tanzania appear quite unconcerned with the way art education is treated in primary schools. These officials seem to be convinced that art education is not important in society. Art, for them, can indefinitely wait, while the sciences are being fairly treated and taught -- because to them science brings about social economic development. Through teaching science, we can get professionals like doctors and engineers. Geography, mathematics, history and the languages can be effectively taught, because eventually they bring about the training of people like lawyers and economists. But the link between art, social economic and cultural life is not clearly conceptualised. Our education officials do not appear to know how art is associated with social economic and cultural development. How, for instance, art is part and parcel of architectural design; how art is linked to furniture, interior and product design. These people do not see how textile design is closely dependent on art. Policy makers and education planners require an urgent and thorough exposure on the question of art education, and its social economic and cultural role. Had they known that art education is important, they would have by now done something substantial in art education in primary schools. Muhando strongly believes that our policy makers and planners lack the necessary knowledge to enable them to know the relationship between art and society. He strongly contends that:

> My impression is that there is a big; actually a big problem, and this is education. There is a discrepancy between life we live and the education that we get. I am talking particularly about the formal education. The curriculum. You find that people live a life which is supposed to be artistic or which depends on art and identity on those lines. But the curriculum is not designed to suit those desires and I believe this is basically a policy problem. It is a policy problem in the sense that the policy makers are not very much conscious of the energy of art in shaping the society. This to me, sounds to be the biggest problem, and it has affected our educational system in many other aspects. For example, I am teaching in a teachers college right here but you find that most of the college kids who come here are...find a lot of trouble when it comes to making teaching aids. You talk to somebody who tells you 'I can't draw' You talk to somebody about appreciating what has been drawn, but he does not find the importance of appreciating what has been drawn. But you wonder, the same person can like clothes on her dress. The same person can like patterns on his shirt or on his jacket, which means he has not been given the exposure to the relationship between theory and life. And this is because we don't have a good policy which promotes art, which brings people close to galleries and other aspects. So the whole thing has been thrown to the side as if it is just non-business.

5.5 Peoples' Awareness on the Social Role of Art

The Institute of Education also realizes that meaningful art education does not exist in our schools. The Institute believes that the social role of art is not fully conceptualized in society -- this being a factor contributing to the lack of emphasis of art education in schools. The strengthening of art education in schools, Kundy believes, will raise the aesthetic consciousness of future Tanzanian society. Commenting on the question of why art education has not been well established in schools, Kundy observes that:

> ...if you try to talk to most people, they will tell you that our society has never yet valued art. I mean most of our people do not know what is the role of art,

> you know!! They take it as just something to make some decoration and so forth. So they never mind about it as important as agriculture and so forth. And I happened to conduct a research to do with church art, and I talked with so many people about that particular art, and you will find that even the scholars, most of our scholars have never given art its weight in the society. You will find that most of our offices; most of our public centres; you know; like the railways; the bus stations; you find that these places have no art. You won't find any statues in our towns; you won't find paintings in our walls. So it shows that these people are really insensitive in art and as a conclusion in that research, I said that our people need to be aesthetically conscience, so that they can know the value of art and so forth; and from there they can appreciate art. And one way of doing that is teaching art in our schools. Lack of aesthetic consciencenesss is a central reason why art has been marginalised in our schools.

People's awareness on the role of art in society is also pointed out by Nakanoga, a lecturer in textile design. Nakanoga is of the opinion that policy makers have tended to put less or no emphasis on art education essentially because of their apparent ignorance on the importance of art in social, economic and cultural development. The respondent strongly observes that policy makers need to be enlightened on the question of art and development - a requirement that might make them realize the value of teaching art in all levels of education. He stresses that:

> ...There is still need to strengthen the syllabus and expand it and sort of make it applicable to all levels of education. I am saying this because there is no much awareness in the policy makers; you see, on the question of art. Somehow they don't think that it is all that important in the development of a society. So, at least, there is need, either to get them aware so that in the implementation; or in their policy making, they put a priority in the fine art. ...The ministry of education is doing something, but it is not enough. It is not enough, as I said, may be not many people are aware of the importance of this discipline in a society.

Policy making is firmly questioned in connection with the underdevelopment of art teaching and learning in Tanzanian schools. It is observed that Tanzania has been free from colonial rule for over thirty years now and art education in primary schools is still undeveloped. A bigger portion of the blame for either purposely or unknowingly derailing art

CANADIAN THESES

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HOW IS ART AND ART EDUCATION

RELEVANT FOR THE CONSTRUCTION ...

ISBN 0-612-29084-0

NQ-29084

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education in primary schools is directed toward policy makers. As noted above, the Ministry of Education and Culture has had ample time, since independence, to give art education a chance to germinate in primary schools. This has not happened. When is it going to happen? How is it going to happen? Muhando is deeply concerned about this disregard for the importance of art education by the government's policy making system. He strongly contends that:

> The British have been away for over thirty years now; and the policy makers, until this minute, don't hold art with high regard. So it would be very difficult for me to blame it all on the British; because had it been the case, then we have thirty years of our own experience, we would have changed. Thirty years is a life time.
>
> My impression is that for most people, art has not been exposed to them as a very core energy; a very central energy that operates life. They take art as a decorative effect. I would say that they don't see it clearly, and those people have been to school; have been to college and stuff like that, don't see it as a motivating factor which contributes directly to what they use in their daily lives. For example you could find a person who is an engineer; he talks down the artists; but he doesn't know that people who designed their cars are artists. People who designed the shape of the watch have to be artistically oriented. Even when you go to hospitals and you look at all the optics, which are used; I mean they have to have some (functional) shape. They have to have beauty. Even if you look at anything...their dentist chair... it has certain particulars which are very artistic. You go to shops and stores - all these packages and stuff like that.
>
> Our people have not taken into consideration that even our trade has not been that much sophisticated to reach the detail of thinking that if you wrap this product this way, then you will attract a person and if you pack it this way then it will look like this and attract the customer. ...They don't give consideration to some of these artistic elements. They just think it is good or it is not good because; may be because of the colour and this and that, but they are not specific about the details.
>
> I think it is a question of consciousness, amongst our elite. And this is because we have not enlightened these people at policy level and also may be because of the commerce itself; as it is not much developed to expose people to the artistic elements. ...Art has place at all levels of life, but it has not been given its place. But, as you have said, the policy has not articulated this need. They have not stated this need intelligently. And the biggest problem is that the consciousness of those people who plan for this is still very low. Otherwise if explored properly, art has a lot of place in the life of everybody; everybody; from primary school to old age. And they all need it, but it is not given to them.

As noted above, respondents in the study strongly express their dissatisfaction concerning the way art education is treated in primary schools. Policy makers and planners among many other factors, have been cited as crucial in the whole problem of lack of emphasis in the teaching of art. Education policy makers and planners seem to have not put any emphasis on art (to be effectively taught) in primary schools, despite the fact that the subject features in the timetable. It appears, therefore, that art has been included in the timetable without any strong desire and intention from the Ministry of Education and Culture that the teaching and learning of the subject should be as effective as possible. There seems to be no such effort on the side of education administrators. If this is not the case then why include a subject in the school timetable while knowing for sure that there are no adequate facilities (such as teaching materials and even a near conducive workplace) that can allow for meaningful teaching and learning of the subject?

It is true that Tanzania is doing a commendable job to ensure that Universal Primary Education is still in practice in the country despite the very poor economy. According to the Tanzania Integrated Education and Training Policy (1993) "since 1974 the Government of Tanzania has been committed to the provision of Universal Primary Education (UPE)." Universal Primary Education requires that all school age (7 years) children should go to school. It is a very big economic burden for a poor country like Tanzania to make such a commitment. However, deciding to provide education to every school age child should not be taken as an exclusive excuse for offering very poor primary level education in areas like art and music. There appears to have been no sound coordination between education policy makers and planners on the one side, and what is really happening in schools.

5.6 The Art Syllabus and Teaching and Learning Problems

To obtain an image of the state of art teaching in primary schools in Tanzania, it is helpful to look into the primary school syllabus and the environment under which the teaching and learning is expected to take place. For purposes of this study only selected areas of the syllabus are cited. The syllabus under consideration is titled `Arts and Crafts Syllabus for Primary Schools' - Class I-VII, (1991) issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture (Institute of Education). In the analysis a primary school in Dar Es salaam (name withheld) is taken as an example.

As noted above, the biggest problem hindering the teaching and learning of art is the unavailability of competent art teachers. Primary school teachers are unable to teach art because of lack of sufficient academic knowledge of the subject. Secondly, the teaching of art in primary schools is made almost impossible due to the unavailability of conducive teaching space and lack of teaching materials and equipment. The third limiting factor is the very large number of students in proportion to classroom dimensions.

5.6.1 Class one:

In teaching class one, the teacher is supposed to cover seven items, which are pencil drawing; painting with brush, decorations (drawn and painted), clay modeling (pottery), puppetry, printmaking and paper work (cut and paste).

(i) Clay Modeling

Now of these seven items, only clay modelling is able to be taught using materials which can be freely found within the school environments. For instance clay soil suitable for class one modelling exercises can normally be found around school compounds. In many cases water is also available around or close to the school compound. Utensils for fetching and storing water can be improvised; such as using empty tin or plastic containers. Other facilities for breaking down and sieving clay soil can as well be improvised.

However, the problem with teaching clay modelling arises due to the size of classes. The example school, as noted above, usually has an average of eighty to ninety students in one stream. There are three class one streams of this average size. That means eighty to ninety students sit in a classroom capable of holding only forty five students. Under these conditions the class would be too heavily packed to allow for any clay modelling activity. In this way, claywork classes take place outside -- under tree shades. But this is also only possible when there is no rain. This working space outside does allow for some teaching and learning activities to take place. However the very large class of young energetic students does limit the effectiveness of teaching. How can a single non art teacher handle and reach each and every individual student during the teaching and learning process? Art classes run for seventy minutes (double period) but this time is normally very long for the untrained teacher in the midst of attempting to handle an impossibly large art class. How can a single non-art teacher handle and be able to reach each and every individual student during the teaching and learning process? Students like playing with clay, but they need to be reached and guided by their teacher on how to play with such clay in a more meaningful way, according to the aims and objectives of the lesson. Under such circumstances, class management for the teacher becomes frustrating and the final objectives, "The student should be able to identify a suitable clay soil and be able to prepare this clay well for modelling simple shapes" (1991, pg 1, my own translation) are normally hardly realized.

(ii) **Pencil Drawing**

The teaching of pencil drawing does not use as many varieties of materials as clay modelling but these materials have to be bought in stores. Students need to buy soft pencils suitable for free hand drawing. But because such special pencils are not readily available in stores, students normally use their regular HB writing pencils. Drawing paper, which is appropriate for free hand drawing, has to be bought from stores, and neither the school nor the majority of students can afford to do so. Thus, most students do the drawing exercises in their small ruled note (exercise) books. In pencil drawing, apart from the unavailability of suitable pencils and paper, working space for students poses a sizable limiting factor. Students, as previously noted, can not sit comfortably inside their classrooms. The eighty to ninety students have to sit packed in the classroom hardly leaving any space for the teacher to go around guiding individual learners. Even though class one pencil drawing lessons require students to do their drawing exercises without any teacher interference, such as guiding them on "how to draw", many students will be heard calling for the teacher, "I can't draw, can you show me how to draw a man or a woman? How can I draw a cow?" The art teacher can not neglect such students. But when the teacher is not trained in teaching art, she(he) feels intimidated. As one primary school teacher, who was previously given to teach art, narrates:

> Being assigned to teach art is like being given a punishment. You are always worried as to what will happen when school inspectors come to your school. What will you show them? Even though inspectors know the art teaching situation in schools very well...that teachers are not trained and the lack of teaching and learning facilities...still they have to do their job. They will come and ask you "Okay, you say that you are not an art teacher, but don't you know that all primary school teachers are supposed to teach every subject? Including art and music? Can you now show me what you have done up to this time? What have you done in your teaching and evaluation of students' art work in your class?" Such intimidating questions from someone who is supposed to be someone's boss always leaves the poor teacher shattered!! Such unbecoming encounter between inspectors and teachers normally result in teachers avoiding being assigned a subject that will ruin their teaching reputation. Teachers would try whatever they can to avoid teaching art or music.

Because teachers are not trained and teaching and learning facilities are inadequate, the set learning objectives, "The student should be able to do pencil drawings of human beings and animals -- both of these drawn in their environments" (1991, pg. 1, my own translation), are never attained.

(iii) Painting with brush

Painting with brush poses even a bigger teaching and learning problem compared with clay modelling or pencil drawing. Painting lessons require colours and brushes that are neither provided in primary schools nor readily available in stores. And even if such materials were found in stores, very few, if any, students could afford to buy them. The size of classes -- eighty to ninety students is a big limitation even for the best art teacher. Because painting involves the use of colours and water, students need ample space to be able to practise painting with ease. This space is hardly available with the density of students. And if painting is attempted in such a class, the result is chaos and despair instead of meaningful learning. A teacher narrates her experience with teaching art at the school. She recounts that:

> Teaching painting is the last thing I can ever think of attempting. The classes are packed with students. There are no colours or brushes. How can someone teach painting in this crowded atmosphere? Apart from this, I am not an art teacher myself. I need to be taught how to paint before I can even be able to help my students! We have so many talented youngsters in our primary schools who never get the chance to develop themselves. Primary schools need qualified art teachers and conducive working facilities to make the subject come to life. Otherwise teaching art in primary schools turn out (unfortunately) to be a sheer waste of time and sure source of frustrations for the assigned teacher.

Under such difficult conditions the most common activity that students do in art classes (in Dar-Es-salaam) is the making of brooms using thin sticks from coconut leaves (Chelewa), and on rare occasions clay modelling is attempted. Brush painting only appears in the syllabus, but it is never taught in class. The student learning achievements, "The student should be able to paint using colours and brush and also be able to distinguish the various colours being used," (1991, pg 2, my own translation), set in the syllabus are therefore left unrealized.

(iv) **Printing** (printmaking)

Teaching printmaking is faced by similar problems as brush painting. Printmaking requires colours (or ink) that are not available in primary schools; most students can't afford to buy them. The activity also uses a lot of water and thus needs ample working space. Printmaking has to take place indoors to avoid possible disturbances caused by wind, dust and sometimes rain. Since there is hardly any working space inside the classrooms coupled with the absence of colours, inks, paper and lack of trained teachers, the printing lessors are always left aside. In this way, print making lessons only appear in the syllabus and the projected student achievement "Students should be able to print decorations on paper using a variety of methods" (1991,pg. 2, my own translation), is always out of reach for the students as nothing is done for the entire year.

(v) **Decorations** (Drawn and Painted)

Drawing and painting of decorations is also not possible due to working limitations (teaching and learning) similar to painting with brush and printmaking. Decorations have to be drawn on paper and then painted with waterbased colours. The process requires the use of plenty of water and convenient working space. Due to similar reasons put forward in painting with brush and printmaking, drawing and painting of decorations is bound to be done indoors, a situation that is restricted, again, by large classes packed in undercapacity classrooms. Again, the student learning achievement "The student should be able to identify and draw a variety of decorations" (1991,pg. 2, my own translation) only features in the syllabus and remain unexperienced by the students.

(vi) **Paper Constructions**

Class one paper construction lessons do not need the use of water, colours or inks. It is thus possible for the class to take place out of doors. The class one syllabus recommends the use of materials like used newspapers, magazines or any thin paper. Bluntly pointed scissors are also recommended for cutting paper. The syllabus instructs the teacher to get various types of thin paper ready for her/his class. The syllabus, however, does not require the teacher to bring pairs of scissors to the class which assumes that students have to bring them from home. On teaching, the teacher is required to show the students how to make various paper shapes representing things like flowers, fruits, table mats, circles and squares. Paper constructions in class one can be attempted, even with the untrained art teacher, but still the major drawbacks as expressed through the study are large size of classes and lack of materials like scissors

5.6.2 **Class seven:**

Class seven has ten items on the syllabus that have to be taught for the year. These items are pencil drawing; drawing and painting with brush; decorations and clay modelling. Other items are puppetry; printmaking; book binding; lettering, weaving (or knitting), and carving (or sculpture). Class seven students are taken for consideration here because they are the most advanced in primary education, and hence provide a fairly good picture of the professional problems that non-trained art teachers encounter. For purposes of illustrating teaching and learning problems confronted by teachers and students, only some items are selected for consideration.

(i) **Pencil drawing**

Pencil drawing in class seven calls for more professional guidance of the teacher for the students. The teacher has to teach the students so that at the end of the year they achieve the set objectives which are: "A student should be able to draw very well and correctly (1) an identifiable human figure (2) a human face (3) various living things (4) still life settings (5) landscapes" (1991, pg. 40, My own translation).

So as to help students achieve the set objectives, the syllabus outlines ways of teaching that the teacher has to follow. The syllabus states that:

> 1. (a) the teacher has to talk to the students about the topic to be taught, (b) the teacher has to show to the students examples of drawings related to the topic, (c) the teacher has to show (demonstrate) to the students, step by step, how to draw what is required by the topic, (d) the teacher has to give the students a lot of relevant exercises...while stressing on accuracy and completion of drawings, (e) the teacher has to revise pencil drawing exercises done in class, five and six; and, 2. Students (after teacher's demonstration) have to do plenty of accurately executed pencil drawing exercises that show professional touch. (1991, p. 40, My own translation).

The syllabus gives examples of teaching materials for the teacher to use. These are 1. Examples of drawings that show; (a) a human figure, (b) a human face, (c) a variety of living things, (d) still life settings, (e) landscapes; 2. pencils; 3. paper; 4. real objects to draw from; 5. living things, as models.

In considering the set student objectives for class seven pencil drawing lessons, it is quite unlikely that an untrained art teacher can be able to teach the various sub-topics such as drawing the human figure, drawing the human face, or drawing various living things. Teaching how to draw the human figure, or portraiture is not an easy undertaking, even for the trained art teacher. The teaching is still made more challenging and frightening to the untrained teacher when the syllabus instructs the teacher to demonstrate to the students step by step how to draw things like the human figure, the human face, various living things, etc. It is without doubt that drawing with pencil is set aside and remains untaught until the time comes when there will be a trained art teacher. A teacher at the primary school comments on the difficulty of teaching art by observing that:

> I think the syllabus is too advanced to be taught by an untrained primary school art teacher. How can some one expect me to teach students how to draw the human figure or the human face correctly? I have never had any art training and hence never attempted to draw the human figure or the human face. How can I demonstrate to my students the various professional techniques involved in drawing, without myself having the necessary expertise? Drawing classes are very challenging and humiliating for the untrained teacher and hence the topic is always either left aside or not taught as expected.

Apart from the professional difficulties that confront the untrained art teacher; the large size of the classes and the lack of materials pose another drawback. Drawing paper is here a marked problem for many students. Pencil drawing for class seven, as instructed through the syllabus, is hardly taught

(ii) Painting with brush

Teaching painting with brush poses its own challenges for both the teacher and students. The syllabus does not instruct the teacher to demonstrate to the students how to paint, but this does not mean that the teacher won't be asked by individual students for technical guidance. Since the learning objectives aim at making the student conversant with using brush for painting (with colour) various objects and landscapes, the teacher is bound to give her/his students professional (technical) guidance. Concerning these learning objectives, the syllabus states that, "A student should be able to paint well with brush and compose through imagination, pictures which depict people, objects, living things and landscapes" (1991,pg. 40, my own translation). And the success of this guidance needs professional knowledge of art which most, if not all, primary school teachers don't have. For instance, to teach brush painting, a teacher needs to have knowledge about colours, and how these colours behave during mixing and painting. Apart from such knowledge, the teacher needs to have previously done some painting practice to give her/him the feel of how difficult or how easy it is to paint. A teacher at the school has the following comments concerning teaching brush painting in primary schools. She contends that:

> There is painting in the syllabus but no one teaches it. I myself can't teach painting because I have no idea how I can do it. How can I teach painting if I have never painted any picture myself? I do not even know how to use colours. The colour wheel is mentioned in class four, but I do not know what it really means. Apart from the lack of art teaching materials and the very large classes that make painting impossible to teach; primary schools require specialized teachers for this very technical subject.

Teaching and learning painting is not possible in the absence of relevant teaching materials. Primary schools don't provide such materials, and so students are expected to bring (buy) them from elsewhere. But as noted above, art materials are very expensive, rare and not easily found in stores. The syllabus, nevertheless lists the materials to be used without caring whether such materials are available in schools or not. The syllabus lists the materials as "1. paper, 2. powder colours, 3. brushes, 4. colour mixing containers; 5. water containers" (1991,pg. 40, my own translation). Nonetheless, meaningful teaching and learning of painting cannot take place in the absence of trained art teachers and relevant teaching materials. When all these art teaching necessities are not present, the untrained teacher remains helpless, and the eager to learn students are deserted.

(iii) Decorations

Under this topic students are to learn how to decorate fabrics using tie and dye and batik techniques. These techniques are very technical and call for a lot of experience for the teacher. Both tie and dye and batik involve several working processes that can only be effectively taught to a small class of about ten to fifteen students. Eighty to ninety students would be next to impossible to teach. A teacher at the school comments that "Teaching batik or tie and dye is not possible because it involves working processes which I have no knowledge of. Also both batik and tie and dye require using materials that our school doesn't have." The syllabus lists the necessary materials as "1. materials for tie and dye (a) monochrome fabrics (b) rope (c) threads (d) sewing needles (e) sodium sulphate (f) caustic soda (g) water (h) sodium chloride (i) buckets (j) iron (k) dyes. 2. Materials for batik (a) monochrome fabrics (b) fabric (cold water) dyes (c) old news papers (d) iron (e) pencils (f) erasers (g) cooking dishes (for heating wax) (h) stove (i) buckets (j) brushes; and the chemicals mentioned under tie and dye sub-topic. Considering the very large classes and the list of materials which the schools don't have, there is no way that teaching and learning of the two fabric decoration techniques can take place. On top of that, the techniques make use of stoves for heating wax and also uses a variety of chemicals that need close teacher supervision. Such supervision is next to impossible in a class of eighty to ninety students. On the part of the teacher, the syllabus instructs that the teacher has to demonstrate to the students the various processes involved in batik and tie and dye. How can an untrained teacher demonstrate such technical processes to the student? The syllabus, for instance, instructs that "the teacher should 1. Demonstrate to the students, step-by-step, how to tie and dye fabrics; and 2. Demonstrate step-by-step how to decorate fabrics using the batik process." (1991, pg. 41, My on translation). Teaching tie and dye; and batik in primary schools calls for serious planning and financial commitment, if students are to be taught and achieve the expected technical knowledge.

The difficulty in teaching and learning art in class seven is also evident in other subtopics such as puppetry, printmaking; book binding and carving (or sculpture). The teaching and learning of these other areas of art is likewise made unrealizable due to the lack of trained teachers and unavailability of teaching materials. In teaching any of these areas, the teacher is required to demonstrate the techniques involved to his or her students, a thing that is not possible without any professional knowledge. On materials, all these areas of art contain lists that can hardly be supplied by either schools or students. For instance, in teaching puppetry, the suggested list includes things like "starch; glue; brushes and powder colours. Other materials are copper wires; hammers and pliers" (1991, pg. 42, My own translation). The materials suggested for printmaking include pieces of wood; rubber' paper cutters; colours and brushes. Others are table cloths; pillow cases; bed sheets; curtains; monochrome threads; soap and kerosene" (1991, pg. 43, My on translation).

Even in the presence of a good art teacher, the teaching and learning of puppetry and printmaking can't be well actualized without having an adequate supply of the materials listed. The same is true for bookbinding and carving (or sculpture).

CHAPTER SIX

Art in Secondary Schools

As in primary schools, the teaching and learning of art in secondary schools has been faced by numerous constraints. Art education in secondary schools has not shown remarkable development from the time of British colonial rule through post independence, up to the present time. It is not fair, however, to say that nothing at all has happened in the teaching and learning of this subject at the secondary level of education. Some efforts have been made in attempting to establish art education in secondary schools, though such initiatives, despite being minimal, have been confronted by several drawbacks. The major limiting factor (which is also a policy issue) is that art education in secondary schools has always been kept optional. Art as a subject has been classified as optional and hence leaving secondary schools to "enjoy the liberty" of teaching or not teaching the subject. Prof. Penina Mlama, a theatre arts professor, in her undated research paper titled, "Steps to reinforce art education in Tanzania" contends that,"Art subjects (Art, music and theatre) have been introduced in all secondary education biases, but as optional subjects. In this way, schools have the freedom of teaching or not teaching the subjects. Many schools do not teach the subjects at all." (pg. 7, my own translation).

The second problem confronting the teaching and learning of art is that secondary schools have an acute shortage of trained art teachers. Other limiting factors include the adverse shortage of teaching and learning materials, equipment and space. The last, though not least, is the negative attitude of some heads of schools towards the subject. Some heads of schools find no use for teaching the subject which they believe has no relevance for students' future careers. Other teachers as well, despise the subject and hence discourage students from studying it.

6.1 Art Education Treated as Optional

Keeping art an optional subject has strongly affected the status of the subject. Being optional, art is seen as non-important and can only be studied as an extra subject. The importance of art in contributing towards students' future careers is mystified. Students do not see the value of studying a subject that does not have a clearly defined contribution towards their future lives. Even education policy makers and planners do not seem to fully realize the place of art in the country's social, economic and cultural life. That is why they place minimal value on the subject. Art education is, for instance, seen as unimportant compared to subjects like mathematics, geography, physics, chemistry and biology. Because art is regarded as an extra subject or optional, many schools do not pay much attention to its formal teaching. Even in schools with art teachers, art is still allocated time after normal schooling hours -- during extra curricular activities. In most cases, art is treated more as a hobby than a subject worth studying. When, in a school, art is regarded as an exclusively extracurricular activity, the trained art teacher is always given other subjects to teach during normal school time. The same teacher is expected to teach art as a hobby after normal teaching hours, when he is already exhausted. Worse still, as observed by Mlama, (undated), the time set for art teaching and learning during extracurricular activities is not enough, and does not allow for indepth study of the subject. Through Mlama's study, we learn that some schools use much of the time allocated for hobbies (including art study time) to perform various self reliance projects. Under such school arrangements, art education is greatly affected and nothing meaningful is normally achieved by both students and teachers. Mlama contends that:

> Art subjects (art, music and theatre or drama) are not given due emphasis in both schools and colleges. There has been, up to the present time, an attitude of not paying significant attention on the teaching and learning of art in many places. For a long time, art subjects were set aside as extra curricular activities to be done after normal school (class) time work. Art teachers - graduates from the University of Dar-Es-salaam or Teacher's Colleges... were expected to use after normal school' time for attending (teaching) art subjects. This time is not sufficient for an indepth and meaningful study of these art subjects. And after the declaration of Education for Self Reliance, (under The Arusha Declaration in 1967) all schools started self reliance projects which then used much of the 'after school time' set for extra curricular activities. In this way, art teachers found themselves without enough time left for art (and many other hobbies) as an extracurricular activity. (p. 10, my own translation).

In discussing the inferior place given to art in Tanzania's education system, Jumbani comments that:

> ...The only thing which I think contributes towards this problem of considering art as something inferior is based on the system in which we make our judgements ...the education system in which we make our evaluation. ...And one major problem which we have as far as discussion makers are concerned is concerned with ignorance. May be ignorance or negligence; both ignorance and negligence go together... Peoples' negligence has made them underrate the essence of art.

Because art is not regarded as a crucial subject in human life, its teaching is not given much emphasis. There is not much care on the side of education administrators, whether secondary schools teach art or not. Muhando does stress that the teaching and learning of art is not given due respect in Tanzania's education system. He contends that:

> In secondary schools, well I am given to understand that very few secondary schools offer fine art. Very few in the country. And those which offer fine art will treat it almost like a private subject. You don't find many headmasters investing a lot of energy and funds into that direction.

Such an attitude of understanding the teaching and learning of art in schools is sometimes openly expressed by high working government officials. One minister of education was once heard openly despising art in front of secondary and teacher training college teachers. Masanja who witnessed this strong utterance maintains:

> The Ministry is not doing enough; and it depends also on who (Government official) is there. That is why I said that the problem may be political. Because one day, I remember to have heard one Minister for Education having a very wrong bias towards the arts. He was giving a speech to teachers in Tabora. To all teachers around...secondary schools and the teacher training college in Tabora. The Minister said that 'I wonder someone going to the university to learn art; drawing; theatre; I wonder. What kind of subject is that?' Forgetting that his shirt had good patterns; and he didn't know that these patterns were made by the artist. Forgetting that he has got very good shoes, well designed. The shoe factory could not do that without having a designer.

Since education administrators do not seem to realize how important art education is in society, nothing substantial appears to be done on their part to make sure that the subject is taught in secondary schools. Jumbani gives a good example concerning the attitude of some high ranking officials on art education. It is interesting but disheartening to note that some officials go to the extent of strongly proposing that art teaching and learning should be completely eradicated in schools. Jumbani accounts that:

> ...But at the same time, as I was saying, there is a certain top official in the ministry (of education) who was of the idea that the arts should be wiped out from the syllabus. All arts (art, music and theatre or drama) should be wiped out and to create more room for chemistry and biology. Unfortunately, he happens to belong to one of those fields of the sciences. So to him learning means science. And as I was saying, this is from high sources, that the Institute of Curriculum Development (Institute of Education) somehow, somewhere interrupted in that idea of wiping out. And so that idea was stopped. But just recently, the same person, same official, said that all syllabuses for physical education in secondary schools and primary schools should be wiped out. And truly he did. He wiped them out. It is not surprising if I hear music, theatre arts and the fine arts are all going to be wiped out. So as what I am saying, it is a pity having such people in top decision making who do not see the significance of art.

Apart from not having teachers, schools remain without the necessary teaching and learning facilities. In some schools art instruction is attempted under very unfavourable conditions. In such cases, art teaching and learning remains barely alive due to individual efforts of heads of schools and art teachers.

6.2 Utilization of Art Teachers

In schools where head teachers consider art as unimportant, the subject is purposely kept aside, without being taught even when the school has some art materials and the needed teaching facilities. Kundy narrates his observation on the non-existence of art teaching and learning even in those schools which have teachers or art materials and equipment. There are some schools in Tanzania, though very few, that don't teach art even if such schools happen to have trained art teachers. Art teachers in these schools are not given the chance to teach the subject. Certain secondary schools would, on the other hand, be equipped with art materials but the subject wouldn't be taught. Kundy explains this with his experience as an art teacher at Forodhani Secondary School in Tanzania. He observes:

> I went to Forodhani Secondary School and there I used to teach art. I found they had papers and colours but they didn't have a teacher. So when I went there I had a look on the materials and I organised the class and we began making an art class there. It got well established and it progressed very well to the extent that we sold some pictures and so forth, and we went to various exhibitions. I mean to various competitions and we came back with presents. Anyway, now, you will find then, we have schools with art materials but there are no teachers like the situation we found at Forodhani. So the colours and the papers were just being misused; you see!! When there was a certain activity, a public activity, they would go and pull out those very expensive papers; they would take the crayons or water colours and they would write some posters; you see!! They would go to the streets with posters for other campaigns. So when I went there, I just arrested the situation and I began teaching art. That is what we have in our secondary schools. And most of art departments in these schools have died, you know; because there are other situations where none is existent. For example, there are neither teachers nor teaching equipment. Therefore they have gone. They have died.

Kundy's contention is very genuine. I personally experienced a similar situation back in 1975. In 1974, after graduating with my Diploma in Education, I was posted to Umbwe Secondary School to teach biology and art. On arriving at Umbwe Secondary School I found out that the school did not have either art materials or an ongoing art program. I had to work from scratch to improvise the initiation of an art program. The program did, with difficulty, take off remarkably well. After one year of very intensive teaching and learning some students were even able to sit for National Form Four (grade twelve) examinations and achieved credit passes. However, I was transfered to Dodoma Secondary School after that one year to, again, go and teach art and biology. The situation at Dodoma Secondary School was equally grave. The art program at this school, a place where I had studied my secondary school art education, had as well, been long closed. The reason being the unavailability of a teacher to teach the program. The department, nevertheless, was still having some art materials and equipment that allowed for the reestablishement of the program. On the same year another art teacher was posted to the school to reinforce the art teaching. After two years of teaching art and biology at the school, I joined the University of Dar-Es-salaam for further studies. Surprisingly, I visited the school after four years and found the art program already closed. The problem was now both the unavailability of art materials and the absence of an art teacher. The other teacher had also long been transferred to yet another school. I was really disappointed to see such a situation recurring. Nakanoga, a textile design lecturer, also sees this problem, where in certain cases heads of schools are crucial in deciding the fate of art teaching and learning. Nakanoga asserts that:

> Yeah, the ministry is doing something, but it is not enough. It is not enough, as I said, because people are aware of the importance of this discipline in a society. ...Art is taught in some schools; not in all schools. Is taught in schools where the head teachers or headmasters understand the role of art in a society. Unfortunately in those schools where headteachers don't know anything about art, there is some problem because some teachers can tolerate and give room for the teaching of art. Some due to their misunderstanding on the whole subject and their ignorance on the subject, tend to, you know, look at it as just a wastage of time.

Heads of schools who do not see the importance of teaching and learning art in schools do use their powers to undermine the subject's existence in their schools. Such headteachers do whatever possible to prevent the subject from being taught. On top of sometimes removing the subject from the school timetables, they as noted above, allocate the art teacher (if there is one) to teach other subjects. Responding on such problems facing art teaching and learning in secondary schools, Mbwambo stresses that:

> Heads of Schools...most of them do not give the appropriate weight for the subject, as a result, may not allocate the subject on the timetable or perhaps give the trained teacher to teach other subjects in their schools. Sometimes they might allocate the subject to the trained teacher, but without the same teacher actually ending up teaching it by purposely withholding funds to be used to facilitate the teaching.

Due to such lack of support from heads of schools, many art teachers end up getting frustrated. Macha here comments on how art teachers are made to teach other subjects instead of art by stating that:

> ...in the secondary schools, if it happens that the school has a trained art teacher...yes it is true that he is given other subjects and fine art is taken as an extra subject. And as I have said, they put emphasis on the subjects that are being termed as academic. You see, that is why they term this fine art subject as a non-academic subject. That is where the problem lies.

Jumbani as well comments on the fate of art teachers once they graduate from college and join schools and colleges for their teaching careers.

The majority of these new art teachers normally confront unfavourable teaching conditions that, in some ways, ban them from teaching art. Jumbani contends that:

> Essentially they are supposed to teach fine arts when they go to secondary schools or teachers colleges. But circumstances which surround those institutions do not allow them to teach visual arts. Most of them, you will find them teaching English; you will find them teaching Kiswahili, and so forth. You see, the question is: I mean the problem is: they do not have the teaching materials as a reason. And as I was saying, also due to ignorance which prevails in these institutions. And also the significance which they attach to these subjects. The headmaster; some headmasters, not all of them; some headmasters; in fact they are many; and the majority...they don't see the use of teaching art in secondary schools and colleges. They go to the extent of saying "Okay; I do not have this subject available here. What you can do is to teach Kiswahili, teach English and many other subjects which are available here. And when we have time, may be, will consider about art." So you see, it is an option. So a greater majority of our graduates here find that problem, and some of them make their way to the industries. They run to the publishing firms where they become graphic designers. Some go to the textile industries where they become designers also. But for those who remain in schools, most of them tend to teach other subjects, other than art.

Mlama as well realises that there is a big problem in secondary schools, whereby the majority of graduates from Butimba (the only Teachers Training College in Tanzania, apart from the University of Dar-Es-Salaam, that trains art teachers) end up not teaching art. These graduates are assigned other subjects instead of teaching art - the subject of their specialization. Prof. Mlama notes that heads of schools are a central source of the problem. She states that:

> In most cases, heads of schools don't give art teachers the chance to teach art and instead force them to teach other subjects. For instance about 75 per cent of Butimba graduates teach other subjects instead of art. The same problem normally arises during teaching practice for Butimba Teachers College and University of Dar-Es-Salaam students. Other teachers (apart from heads of schools) do as well, despise art and thus creating various obstacles in schools where art is taught. Such obstacles can, for example involve assigning students other duties during art classes (pg. 11, my own translation).

The mistreatment of art teachers in schools forces some of them to quit the teaching profession and find other jobs. Other art teachers, though they had chosen art to be their profession, find such mistreatment humiliating and demoralizing, and hence decide to go for further studies to learn other teaching subjects, instead of art. As a result of this abandoning of the teaching profession or change of teaching subjects, a shortage of art teachers is created in secondary schools. And this shortage of art teachers is, as noted above, made worse when those art teachers who decide to remain in the teaching profession are compelled to teach other subjects and not art. Butimba Teachers College produces an average of fifteen (15) art graduates every year and an average of five (5) students graduate from the University of Dar-Es-salaam every year. But, as indicated through Prof. Mlama's observation, only a quarter (25%) of these graduates end up teaching art. Sika, an art tutor, also discusses the question of shortage of art teachers in secondary schools by accounting that:

> The way I know it...after Butimba Teachers College started to produce art teachers, many have been posted to secondary schools and teachers colleges. Here in Morogoro, there were art teachers at Morogoro Secondary School, Mzumbe Secondary, that I am sure. But so far both of them have left. The problem is that, it happens to be that there are inconveniences that frustrate teachers and thus resulting into the teachers being demoralized. These teachers do their job without any motivation and single heartedly...struggling to teach without adequate materials and equipment. The result from this is that such teachers look for means or ways of leaving the art profession and go to other areas. Many of them have gone for upgrading and obtained diploma in education in other subjects. So you find that even if the teacher returns to the same school after graduating, you will find that he will tend to teach those other subjects that he went to study at Diploma level - rather than teaching art.

Mbwambo does make an account of the frustration experienced by art teachers. He emphasizes that:

> Art teachers are vacating or abandoning the teaching profession. This has resulted in shortage of trained art teachers. Despite the fact that there is an acute shortage of art teachers, the few available (present) do abandon the teaching profession, thus making the situation (of shortage of teachers) even

> worse. Those art teachers present become frustrated and run away. In this case, art and art education in schools gets worse and worse.

Nakanoga, as well, responds on the same issue of lack of enough art teachers in secondary schools by narrating that:

> The problem in secondary schools also is manifested by the number of few art graduates. Yeah, we have enough secondary schools. I say enough...not saying many...but this enough again is not being met by the supply of art teachers (those who graduate). And again with that attitude of headmasters and headmistresses (of frustrating teachers), again leaves a lot of room for this type of discipline to really not be taught in secondary schools.

The Ministry of Education and Culture is, however, quite aware of the problems that teachers face in the field. The Ministry knows that most schools are operating without sufficient supply of teaching and learning materials. This awareness has been clearly stated in the Tanzania Integrated Education and Training Policy (August 1993). In this policy, the Ministry of Education and Culture realizes the effects on national education of having insufficient supply of teaching and learning materials, equipment and other relevant facilities. The Ministry as well recognizes the shortcomings associated with the mistreatment of teachers and without valuing and improving their terms of service. In this policy, the Ministry shows determination to improve the quality of education through, in part, enhancing the quality of teachers. This is planned to be implemented through ways like introducing more attractive terms of service, remuneration and incentive packages. In any case the question still remains whether teaching resources related with art education will be part and parcel of this proposed improvement program - since as strongly indicated above, other subjects have always been favoured compared to art. Nevertheless, to get an idea of what the Ministry of Education and Culture has in plan, the

Tanzania Intergrated Education and Training policy (1993) states:

> The quality of teachers, an improvement of the teaching and learning environments, the availability or supply of requisite good quality resources and materials, as well as the introduction of more attractive terms of services, renumeration and incentive packages for teachers will to a large extent determine the extent to which education can attract and retain good quality teachers in the future. (p. 45)

The Ministry does, as well, realise the shortage of teachers in primary and secondary schools. The policy states that:

> The shortage of teachers with qualifications in various grades runs across the entire school system. At primary level, acute shortages are experienced mainly in the rural areas. At secondary level, similar shortages exist for the sciences, mathematics, technical subjects and in rural secondary schools. (p. 47)

6.3 Lack of Teaching and Learning Materials

Apart from the shortage of art teachers in secondary schools the inadequate supply of teaching and learning materials, together with other facilities pose a remarkable problem. Art materials such as colours, brushes, appropriate drawing and painting paper including printing and dyeing supplies are almost nonexistent in secondary schools. These materials are expensive to buy and hence require substantial funding. Schools do not get enough funding from the Ministry of Education and Culture to finance art education. While other subjects such as physics, chemistry and biology receive financial support, art is almost always forgotten. On this matter of supply of art materials, Jumbani explains how other subjects get favoured by the Ministry of Education and Culture, and their teaching and learning materials including equipment, become adequately funded, while art remaining neglected. Jumbani, elucidates that:

> Thanks very much for reminding me of that. It is funny and sometimes it is funny and sad. The art materials demand a lot of input in terms of finances; and virtually everything is consumable. You take the colour; you take the powder

> colour, the paper and all kinds of pencil, you talk of the brush and so many other things. All these things need money, and they need a lot of investment. Unfortunately, there is no deliberate policy to finance for these materials which are required in the arts. You would see there is a lot of money being pumped into buying barrets and funnels in the laboratories of let's say chemistry, physics and so forth. But very rarely, you see people, of course, those responsible for ordering art materials doing the same. It is very difficult to find art materials in our stores, and also lack of a deliberate policy to supply these materials in schools. But as I am saying, when you look at other areas, in other fields, in other subjects; you see there is quite a deliberate policy to supply the necessary materials for the training in these courses. This indicates the kind of thinking; the kind of value we attach to these subjects. And they do not care, whether someone lives or dies; they don't care; you do art; you don't do it; nobody cares. And they always sing `science'; science' as if all science works in isolation with other areas. To me, I would expect, science is a combination of many other fields, including art. So that is another big problem we face. The financing of art teaching materials.

Lack of materials for art teaching and learning greatly affects the quality of art education offered in secondary schools. Since most schools in Tanzania lack the necessary art materials to enable the subject to be properly taught, only areas like claymodelling, woodcarving, and some weaving, which use local materials can be meaningfully taught. However, areas like painting, printmaking, batik, tie and dye are the most affected. Kundy gives an account on how the teaching and learning of art is affected by the inadequate supply of materials, equipment and other facilities. Kundy narrates:

> ...Actually in this country we have so many secondary schools and among these secondary schools, you find we have only a few of them which teach art. And in these few ones, I can say, we have no art equipment at all. I mean it is very rare to find a school with an art-room. It is also very rare to find a school with easels and other basic art equipment, and things like colours have been forgotten in these schools for a long time.

Art being a subject that requires practical involvement for both the teacher and students, ample supply of materials and equipments is important since this acts as good teaching and learning motivation. This kind of motivation is not found in many secondary schools in Tanzania. Teachers and students work under unfavourable study conditions with hardly any facilities, which greatly affects the quality of education offered. Muhando sees this problem and states that:

> The standards have been dropping and dropping and dropping because of the attention that has been given to the subject. So, we could have teachers in the secondary schools alright, but very few students opt to do fine art. When they go into that fine art, the facilities are very much limited. So it discourages the teacher, even if he was a good teacher. It discourages the student, even if he had a lot of prospect. And you find it is not a subject that is really thrilling. It is not a subject that thrills people.

Sika contributes more on this problem of materials and other essential teaching and learning facilities. He states that:

> ...So those who allocate funds don't even given the subject any priority. The most they will say is that they will consider allocating funds for art when enough funds are available. So, I do think materials is a very big problem which hinders the study and teaching of art in secondary schools.

Mbwambo who has for a long time been working with the Ministry of Education and Culture, stresses that:

> The Ministry of Education and Culture has not given strong directives on the development of art in secondary schools. In this way it doesn't allocate proper funds to buy the teaching and learning materials for these schools.

The insufficient supply of materials in schools has also been recognized by the government. It has been realized that the quality of education offered in secondary schools has been deteriorating with time. The Ministry of Education and Culture has come to know that the improvement of teaching and learning materials, equipment, and other relevant facilities is inevitable. The 1993 Tanzania Integrated Education and Training Policy is set to alleviate this problem by inviting other parties to share the costs. But like the supply of properly trained teachers, it still remains to be seen whether art education will in the future be valued and thus receive the so projected funding. In any case, the policy generally states that:

> School Infrastructure and Facilities: The social demand for secondary education has of late been characterized by the rapid increase of public and private secondary schools in many regions and districts. Most of these schools have been established and registered because of political pressures or competition among groups of parents, NGOs or local leadership at the regional and district levels. Very often, certificates for registration have been granted without first meeting the set minimum infrastructure requirements for a secondary school as provided in the guidelines for establishing such schools. This has resulted in substandard school infrastructure and a decline in the quality of secondary education. **In order to redress this situation:** Owners and managers of all secondary schools shall ensure that standard infrastructure, facilities, equipment and instructional materials necessary for effective and optimum teaching and learning are of good quality, available in adequate quantities and are regularly maintained (pp. 37-38).

It is encouraging to know that the new policy has realized the problem of shortage of teachers, declining standards of school infrastructures, inadequate supply of teaching, learning materials, and other relevant supplies. The effects of such low quality infrastructure and teaching facilities in education is likewise well noted by this new education policy. On the side of art, however, there are other factors that need to be looked into so as to raise the quality of its teaching and learning in schools. One of these is that art as a subject continues to the present day to be regarded as optional studied by only those students who wish to. It is only offered by schools who opt to do so.

6.4 Possible Ways of Reinforcing Art Education in Secondary Schools

Making art a required subject like geography, mathematics, history, English, etc. may be a possible solution Once art ceases to be an optional subject, its status among students and teachers will be raised. Its teaching and learning much more emphasized. Prof. Mlama does note that leaving art as an optional subject creates lots of problems that hinders its meaningful teaching. Mlama, a theatre arts professor, states that, although the Ministry of Education has now included art in the school timetable, therefore enabling it to be taught along side other subjects during normal school hours, yet it still remains optional.

Prof. Mlama, (undated) discusses measures taken by the Ministry of Education and Culture in improving art education in schools. She contends that:

> This problem (of law quality of art education) was expected to be solved by making art to be taught in the classroom (instead of being an extracurricular subject or hobby). But all art subjects (art, music and theatre) are still optional. To make art subjects optional has brought about problems that hinder the effective teaching of the subjects. ...Students are not motivated and encouraged to take art subjects because they are optional. These students develop the attitude that only compulsory subjects are important. In this way, even those students who take art subjects do not care much in attending these classes, and do invest less effort in the work involved. (p. 11, my own translation).

Art needs to be given its status in schools. This status can only be achieved by making art teaching and learning compulsory in schools, so that every child is introduced to the subject at one point in secondary education. Once art is made compulsory, school administrations and the Ministry of Education will be compelled to fund its teaching and learning including the provision of trained teachers. Teachers will, in this way, be required to teach the subject instead of now being forced to teach other subjects that are regarded to have more value than art. Prof. Jengo discusses the need to make the subject compulsory in schools, a thing that is already in effect in many other countries. Prof. Jengo does emphasize:

> I thank you for picking this subject. You must go deeper. You must start right from the colonial policy on education in this country. You will come to understand that most countries inherit what was there before. In Kenya art is compulsory. Art is compulsory! It is compulsory in primary and secondary

> schools. That is a clear policy...that art must be taught and the teachers are going to be trained. You see that? If there are no teachers, we are going to have local people who come there and teach handicraft. So that our children know these things. But in Tanzania we have no clear policy. We are thinking about employment. That art teachers - what are they going to do? They are going to teach. Non-art teachers. What are they going to do? You see that? They don't know that there are so many things that free-lance artists can do.

Making art a compulsory subject in secondary schools will enhance the subject's status among other subjects. Nevertheless, this move needs to be supported by strong reinforcement in the teaching and learning of the subject in primary schools, as well as the kindergarten level. To date, as already noted, art education in primary schools is almost nonexistent. In this way students complete their vital primary education without any meaningful art education. I say vital because a very small number of Tanzanian children get the chance of proceeding into secondary education. The rest greatly depend on their primary education to make a meaningful life. Concerning this issue of entrance into secondary education, the Tanzania Integrated Education, and Training Policy (1993) emphasises that:

> Currently only 15% of the primary school leavers continue to secondary education level. Since the remaining 85% of the primary school leavers are in very productive age group, they cannot be ignored. (p. 77)

Emphasizing the teaching and learning of art in primary schools will help introduce primary school leavers to the subject, a knowledge they could use in their after school life. The second advantage which is central to this discussion is that students who continue with secondary education will have some foundation of the subject. At present, lack of basic art education at primary school level makes students start learning the subject in secondary schools without any knowledge of it. This situation does bring about several effects in their learning process. The majority of students in Tanzania are introduced to the studying of art for the first time at secondary school level, and not at the primary level. Under such circumstances, the subject tends to appear difficult and, thus some students are scarred away. Students start thinking that art is a difficult subject and, it is only for the few talented learners. Sika who has taught in primary schools, secondary schools and colleges of education acknowledges this problem and comments that:

> ...So you find that the thing which make art to be difficult in secondary schools is that students do come from varying environmental and educational backgrounds, and especially when their teachers in primary schools were using art classes to teach other subjects. So when a student comes from such a school and enters secondary education; he finds that he has no single idea about art. It is only those very few who were eager to learn art in primary schools, but happened to have no teachers to guide them, are the ones who...when they join secondary schools and happen to find an art teacher...are the ones who are determined to learn art and develop themselves. But those who did not have such an outlook of learning art and they didn't get teachers to teach them...when they come to secondary school ...obviously they say that they have no such art foundation and their emphasis is directed towards other subjects.

Art education, like any other subject, needs to be emphasized and strengthened at all levels of education, starting from pre-school up to University level. The study of art has to be given first priority especially in primary schools where the real learning foundations begin to be formalized. School administrators should not ignore the teaching and learning of art in primary schools while making substantial attempts to strengthen the subject at secondary level of education. The Ministry of Education and Culture is at present providing secondary schools with some trained art teachers while no such teachers are being sent to primary schools. Such plans could in a way be influenced by the weak economy of Tanzania, though still parallel plans might have been directed towards the real foundation of education - the primary level. If the Ministry of Education and Culture can not presently afford to fund and administer art education in all primary schools, then at least, some few schools should be identified and given the opportunity to study the subject. As the national economy strengthens to be able to afford additional funding for the subject, more schools can be selected to undertake meaningful teaching and learning of art. Prof. Mlama realizes this need for emphasizing art education in primary schools. She does, as well suggest identifying some schools which can be facilitated to teach art. Prof. Mlama (undated) suggests that:

> Because there are many primary schools and art teachers available, few schools can be identified to offer art education. The number of schools teaching art subjects (art, music, and theatre) can, with time be increased depending on the availability of teachers. Since these subjects are already included in the schools' timetables, it is only a matter of planning as to which schools should teach art and supply them with any available teachers. (pp. 18-19, my own translation).

6.5 Art at High School Level

Another level of education that has not been offering art is high school (or advanced level, which is two years after grade twelve). In the past, up until 1994, art was not being taught in Tanzanian high schools. However, the Ministry of Education and Culture has now realized the importance of the subject and already, beginning 1994/1995 academic year, art is being offered in some high schools. Macha discusses this move by the Ministry concerned to introduce art teaching and learning in high schools. Macha states that:

> Yeah, recently the Institute of Education convened a meeting and also a workshop, whereby the vision to encourage, and in fact to write a syllabus for forms five and six was decided and a draft of the syllabus done. And in fact it was agreed that fine art in forms five and six should start this academic year (1994/1995). This was according to the instructions of the Ministry that a fine art combination (of subjects) should be started for forms five and six (grades thirteen and fourteen in Tanzania), whereby form six students could seat for their final examinations in fine art. So the syllabus was drafted pending approval of the Ministry of Education.

Prof. Jengo also acknowledges these efforts by the Ministry of Education and Culture to reinforce art teaching and learning in schools. He discusses high school art education and appreciates that:

> Well, yes, you know the Ministry of Education, as I told you, has its priorities and I am glad to hear that the A-Level syllabus will now be tried at many schools, one of which is Jangwani. We may not be happy with the way it is taught but we know that slowly the Ministry of Education has recognized art as a subject and can help funding.

In examining the urgent need for high school art education, Kundy narrates the prevailing discontinuity in teaching art at various levels of education in Tanzania. Kundy shows that students eager to study art are discouraged when the subject is not taught at primary level of education but then surfaces at some schools in secondary education. Art education then again disappears at high school only to suddenly resurface at teachers colleges and university level. Such unexplained discontinuity as Kundy recounts, has resulted in loosing many talented (and eager to learn) students. Many students have dropped studying art at certain levels of their education because the future of the art profession has tended to appear mystified and undefined, with no clearly opened avenues for its continuous study. Kundy contends that:

> ...And at secondary school level, we have a national examination on art. But this one has also been a discouragement to our pupils, because after that we don't have art at high school. We don't have art in these schools, I mean in this form five and six level. So after form four or ordinary-level you find there is nowhere to continue with this art. So you find students find it nonsense to do something which has no future. Now, but, you will come and find that at the level of university the thing comes up a new. You see!! So we miss something here I mean to continue this art education from form four and form six so that one can get the training to be able to join the university.
>
> This discontinuity has been a problem for a long time and then this one can also help us to justify that the society has been overlooking the profession. I mean it has been neglecting us (artists). Because, you know, the subject is never examined in primary schools. Now we come to the secondary schools - form four - there is an examination but after the examination there is no art at high school, I mean, it has no future from there. But you go to the university art comes up again, you see!! But other subjects have never experienced such a breakdown.

> Okay, so this can also help to justify that art has been neglected. Okay, it is now that the Ministry of Education and Culture has learnt its mistake and we expect next year to have some training - art training in this level - form five and six, so that it can correct or omit this breakdown which has been existing between this level and the university. So we have two combinations for advanced level next year. That combination is going to include Fine Art, Literature and Kiswahili. And there will be another subject combination which is going to have Fine Art, History and Literature. ...We have already developed some syllabus for all these subjects. It is now on the process before it becomes a government document. And we are trying to develop some pamphlets or chapters, (before we make any reliable books), so that we can help those people who are going to begin teaching art at advanced level. ...You see, so if art training at advanced level which I am sure will take place next year then we will have these people go to the university. And if they go there, they will be trained in the Faculty of Education in art and so forth. They will come down to the society. With teachers I think, after this one has been corrected we will have teachers - certainly.

6.6 Summary

So as to strengthen the teaching and learning of art in secondary schools, this subject needs to be taken seriously at all levels. Art education has to be valued by heads of schools, teachers and students. The Ministry of Education and Culture should as well, fully recognise the place of art and art education in social, economic and cultural sectors of the country. Following such recognition, the Ministry of Education and Culture needs to give art education the necessary support so that its teaching and learning can be meaningful. To strengthen the teaching and learning of art, the Ministry of Education and Culture has to find ways of providing schools with art teachers together with adequate teaching and learning materials. On the other hand, Secondary schools which happen to have art teachers should make use of them. These teachers should be given every chance to teach art instead of being forced to teach other subjects.

Offering art at high school level will, as well, bring about varying substantial benefits within and outside the schooling system. As noted in the discussions above, high school art education will bridge the gap between secondary education and the university. Qualifying high school graduates will be able to get admission into colleges and universities to study art . For example some of these high school graduates will join teachers' colleges and universities to train as art teachers for primary; secondary schools and colleges. In this way, the shortage of art teachers at various levels of education, that is creating vicious circles in the government's attempts to develop art and art education will be greatly alleviated. Other able high school art students, who do not wish to join the teaching profession, will get the opportunity to continue with the subject through colleges and universities to eventually become professional artists and designers.

However, it is worth emphasizing once more that the introduction of high school art education requires parallel strengthening of art teaching and learning in primary and secondary schools so that these high schools will be able to receive and enroll qualified students.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Art in Teachers Colleges

All teachers colleges' in Tanzania are supposed to teach art education, and this is the place where teachers for primary schools are trained. However, due to various reasons, this training does not occur; only some colleges have an art education program. Similar to secondary schools, the teaching and learning of art in colleges is confronted by numerous constraints, the main ones being lack of trained art teachers, equipment and other necessary facilities. The negative attitude of some college principals and tutors toward the subject is also a problem to reckon with.

7.1 Art Teachers

Shortage of trained art teachers prevents many colleges from teaching art education. It is only those colleges that are lucky to have art teachers that teach the subject. But it needs to be noted that the mere presence of an art teacher does not necessarily guarantee the teaching and learning of the subject. Some principals do not fully recognize the need for teaching art education in their colleges, and thus do whatever they can to prevent it. Prof. Mlama, in Steps to Reinforce Art Education in Tanzania, (undated) comments on the problems facing art education in colleges by pointing out that.

> Art, music and theater subjects are supposed to be offered in all grade III A colleges. But at present these subjects are offered only at those colleges with art teachers and college principals, who do allow the teaching of the subjects.
> (pp. 7; my own translation)

As Mlama points out, some college principals do not see the importance of teaching art education and hence give reasons attempting to justify their attitude. The reason most frequently cited is the shortage of teachers. As in secondary schools, shortage of teachers here refers to subjects other than art. When other subjects like English, Kiswahili, and Audiovisual Education do not have teachers, the art teacher is supposed to rescue the situation. The gap is filled at the expense of art education. Macha, a college art tutor with long experience, narrates his touching observation. Macha recounts his story of an encounter with his college principal regarding the teaching of art education. In this episode, Macha was posted to a college where the principal did not want art to be taught and it was only through his own persistent resistance on teaching the subject that he was eventually allowed to teach it. Macha narrates that:

> In the teacher training colleges, every student is supposed to study fine art. An emphasis should be put on methodology – how to teach it – because we are preparing teachers who are going to teach in primary schools. And a primary school teacher is not a master in one subject. He is a master of all subjects, and fine art being one; so he has got to teach it. So for all teacher training colleges, fine art is supposed to be taught – if there is a trained teacher. But unfortunately not all colleges have trained teachers. So where there is no teacher the subject is not taught.
>
> When I came here the subject was not being taught. And you know, when I came by and reported, the principal asked me, 'What are you going to teach us?' I said 'Fine art.' He said 'Fine art??' I responded 'Yes'. 'But we don't have room for fine art here!!', the principal wondered. I said 'We don't have room but now we are going to have room for fine art.' The principal still stressed, 'No, no, no, you are going to teach teaching aids. No fine art here. No room for fine art!!' You know, we had to quarrel. We had a quarrel, and I said, 'No, look, I must teach fine art first, and if I don't have much load, then I can teach other subjects. But first - fine art. That is my specialty, and I have been sent here to teach fine art.' In fact we had to argue fiercely. So I stayed for two weeks without being given even a desk; even an office. Two weeks!! just roaming about. But I had to fight my way. I said 'No; I must teach fine art. If you don't want me here, you just give me a letter. Yeah give me a letter, so that I can go back to the commissioner'. 'To the commissioner?; to report back?'; the principal asked with added concern. 'Yes', I answered. So when I said that, the principal's response suddenly changed to 'Oh, noo. Okay, you are going to teach fine art. So you know, but you are going to be under the education department! I said 'Okay, I don't care. You put me under any department. But fine art must be taught.' And then you see what happened? I was not given

> anything. No teaching materials. No, nothing; nothing. So I said 'Okay, you don't give me anything. Me, I know, when you get money, you buy materials for other subjects but not for fine art. Okay, that doesn't matter, provided I have got an office and I will teach in the normal classrooms (as there is no art room). I will collect local materials!
>
> You know what I did? I started teaching my students clay work. And clay is available only a few meters from here. I organized my students and we went down and collected enough clay and we started processing it. So I started with clay work. And then drawing. Off course students have their own pencils and we started drawing in the normal exercise books. No drawing books of course. That is how I started. Now when they saw the results, they said 'Oh! Yeah! so fine art is a good subject!' I said 'Oh yes!, didn't you know it?' You know they wondered. ...Even when we had a graduation day, we made a history. They wondered. Yes, what the students produced. They produced very good work. You see, and this surprised them. They said 'Oh, we didn't know that.' I said 'Oh yes.'
>
> So in fact I have been going around collecting teaching materials. I went to this press here. There is a press at Mzumbe Secondary school. It is a book production unit. I went there and introduced myself. I said 'I am a fine art teacher at Kigurunyembe, but I don't have teaching materials. I am looking for left overs or what you call waste materials.' And also I don't know what they call them - off cut or something. So the manager said 'Okay, you are welcome, just collect them.' Yeah, so I became a scavenger. I collected what ever was there, and then became very useful.

Macha's recount is very touching and clearly brings forth some of the key problems hindering the possible teaching and learning of art education in teachers colleges. In colleges many art teachers find themselves unwelcome to teach the subject of their specialization. Art teaching and learning does not enjoy the respect it deserves as a core subject contributing towards children's mental and physical growth. Instead the subject is in many cases taken as a waste of time, energy and resources. In this way, art education continues to be marginally taught. Mlama, in Steps to Reinforce Art Education in Tanzania, (undated), acknowledges that art education's teaching and learning in colleges continues to suffer. Mlama relates that:

> The Ministry of Education expects that primary schools will get art teachers from among students teachers who are taught art education in teacher colleges, because all colleges are supposed to teach art as a subject. However there have been many problems that hinder the proper teaching of the subject. Teachers graduating from Butimba teachers college and the University of Dar-Es-salaam are faced with numerous constrains that keep them away from teaching

> art education to students who would later on be posted to primary schools to teach (and not being among their teaching subjects) (p. 10, my own translation)

Masanja as well acknowledges this problem of college teachers being assigned to teach subjects other than art. He narrates that even some inspectors of schools from the Ministry of Education and Culture do not seem to regard art teaching and learning as vital. They consider for instance, audio visual technology as being more important compared to art education. In such cases teachers are even expected to put more emphasis on teaching other subjects instead of art. Masanja recounts this with reference to his colleague at a teachers college, who after graduation as a grade III A teacher was posted to teach art at another college instead of being sent to a primary school. He does account that:

> This colleague of mine was not sent to teach in primary schools. He was posted to a teachers college for the reason that he could give his knowledge to the teachers who were (after graduation) going to teach in primary schools. But at the same time the same question comes. This teacher who went to teach in a teacher training college was not asigned to teach art. He was given audio visual technology. Now instead of teaching art, he was teaching how to make visual aids (teaching aids). So the knowledge of art was not valued and given true respect; because if at all he was practicing art, it is just because he wanted to do it on his own. But what was emphasized was not art. And I also remember I was one of the people who were affected, that officials from the Ministry of education and culture could come; the school inspectors could come to the college where I was teaching. They would like to see how well I taught these people to prepare their teaching aids. Okay, teaching aids could be part of art as well, but why teaching aids only? In this way, even the college graduates who go to teach in primary schools get the same problem. They claim that 'well I didn't take fine art. I can't teach fine art.' As a result, primary schools don't have art teachers.

In support of the above contention, Mwasanga strongly feels that art teachers need to be respected and given the chance to teach the subject. At present, as Mwasanga and other respondents cited above observe, art teaching and learning of art are not valued as meaningful and they are actually highly despised in schools and colleges. Mwasanga comments on the problem:

> ...And another problem for the youngsters who need to be drilled just from the early stage, they have not got that opportunity because the teachers who graduate from Butimba teachers college and the University of Dar-Es-salaam, once they go to teach in colleges and secondary schools; once they report there; they are not allowed to teach art. They are told 'What is art subject?' Every person has a very negative attitude towards this subject. As a result, even our children in primary and secondary school education also grow with that mentality; 'Art is just a lousy subject.' This is because it has not been given time and chance to popularize itself. So you will find it is very very difficult for the subject to get popular acceptance in educational institutions.

7.2 Art Materials and Equipment

As noted above, the other problem that goes hand in hand with the denial of some art teachers to teach art in colleges is the lack of enough funding for art materials and equipment. Art education in colleges suffer from insufficient funding thus making the teaching and learning of the subject very difficult. Since art education is apparently not considered important by education officials, the funding of the subject (as also observed in primary and secondary schools) appears to be neglected as well. The study shows that art education does not receive any separate funding from the ministry of education and culture. So it is up to the principal of a college to decide whether to finance art teaching and learning or not. Jumbani explains this difficulty in getting art education funding. Incidentally Butimba is the only teachers college in Tanzania that emphasizes the teaching of art at the professional certificate level. Jumbani express his concern by noting that:

> This is the only institution which produces art teachers in the country. And yes, as I was saying there are virtually no training materials. I am here from 1982 to date. I could say, the kind of art materials which we got - I mean the finance we got for art materials was in 1984. From that time until now we haven't received any funding specially for visual arts. There is money allocated for general purposes out of which we get very little. You could get only like, for instance the money which could be allocated for visual arts is hardly then thousand (10,000) shillings per year, (about US $20.00). Hardly ten thousand! And if you get, ten you are lucky. So it depends on the principals' own maneuver, how to raise these funds from other sources -

> undefined sources, other than that from the ministry, so that we can at least buy a brush, some few powder colors and so forth. But there is no deliberate input of money into these areas.

Similar teaching and learning problems caused by lack of art teaching materials are also experienced by other colleges in Tanzania. Insufficient supply of art teaching materials makes the teaching job quite unpleasant for college art teachers. Many of these teachers work under unthrilling conditions without even the minimum required art supplies. Muhando acknowledges the presence of this teaching and learning constraint and comments that:

> ... And number two, very little money in given to that kind of study, so you find that a teacher of art in a teachers' college might not have the medium to use, paper, colors or whatever. He is just left on his own; like a stray dog, you know, who will take whatever will feed on or whatever will pick up. So given that situation, it is very difficult even for the art teacher to convince himself to put more effort on his work. I am not teaching art here, but I have an impression that these people have a very hard time as far as facilities are concerned.

Kundy also links the insufficient supply of art teaching materials to the poor quality of art teaching and learning in colleges. Student teachers who have never studied art in their primary and secondary schools join teachers colleges and start learning art for the first time in their lives. Here they find art being taught without any seriousness in terms of funding for teaching materials. Under such circumstances, these students graduate without having enough art education to enable them to teach the subject in primary schools. Kundy elaborates his contention by noting that:

> ...The quality of art teaching in primary schools is in fact a chain kind of problem. This problem begins right from the primary and secondary schooling time to the time when students join college education. For instance, you find that a student has never attended art from primary school through secondary education. Now after form four secondary education, one goes to a teacher training college and there he finds there is art class. He is taught by his trainer in art, meaning: painting, drawing, clay modeling etc. And this art

> subject is really being taught in a very poor way, because you find the colleges suffer the same problem which we have talked about in the primary schools. These colleges have no enough materials and equipment. So you find that these student teachers are studying under very difficult conditions. A teacher can have a brush of his own, and this one is given to the students to use, you know, each one at a time. Colors are also not available. If there are any colors brought by the teacher or supplied by the college, they need to be used very thinly, thus limiting students' free experimentation. All in all, you will find that one cannot really begin studying art at this late hours. At the same time these students stay in college for two years and during these two years you find that one is exposed to art activities for not more than twenty hours. Now how can you learn art in such few contact hours and after graduation you go and teach art in primary schools.

7.3 Art National Examinations

Lack of materials and equipment is a big limiting factor in the development of art teaching and learning in colleges. This problem needs to be solved by the Ministry of Education and Culture, otherwise art education will continue to suffer and students will keep on graduating from teachers colleges without the expected knowledge attainment. However, the availability of sufficient teaching materials and equipment together with the presence of qualified art teachers will not fully be able to improve the standard of teaching and learning of the subject without the subject itself being valued and respected by both students and teachers. But why is art education not so valued in teacher colleges? The interviews suggest that this problem of neglecting art teaching and learning does have some of its roots in the Ministry of Education. Some of those interviewed believe that art education in colleges has been so much disregarded and ignored because it is not being examined. While Art requires a higher status, and examinations may improve that status, Norris (1991) calls for a careful examination of the problematics of the status of the Arts before any such change is made. Art education does not appear in the final teachers college examinations and in this way teachers and students do not see why they should put any due effort in studying a subject that won't feature in the final college examinations. Students only put more effort on examinable subjects, like mathematics, geography, history, english, etc. It is hence indicated that the neglecting and despising of art education is essentially influenced by the fact that the subject is not being examined. Jumbani strongly supports this contention by propounding that:

> ...to expand the training of art-to have more colleges; to have more secondary schools teaching art will depend, as I am saying, on how does the Ministry which is responsible see the significance of art in the educational system. What is the place of art in our society? What is the place of art in the economy of the country? It goes without saying as I told you earlier, that the policy makers do not see the contribution of art in this country. And may be they are not aware. Since they are not aware they can not see the significance and therefore they tend to ignore the subject. As I told you earlier that there is one stupid idea which we have that the only knowledge people know here is the one which is examinable. As long as we do not examine something they don't see that as knowledge. If you have to do geography, at the end of the day you have to be examined by the National Examination Board. The visual arts, as I was saying, when you come to the primary school level and then at teachers college level, they are not examined and students don't care much about them.

Muhando also recognizes the effect of examination on the seriousness given to art teaching and learning in colleges. Muhando sees this problem originating from the policy making level. He asserts that policy makers do not seem to appreciate the role and place of art in society and that is why they do not rank it high as a subject worth studying. Muhando observes that:

> ... And when they teach art you find that it is not even examinable, even at the teachers college level. Fine art is not taken as an examinable subject, which means they won't take it seriously. And sometimes you find people just thinking that people draw from nature because they just have a talent. It is just an instinct - if you have it, you draw; if you don't have it, then too bad. But they have not taken it seriously as something which goes down the policy, to make our people oriented to art - either in doing or appreciating it effectively and intelligently. ...And that is why I think it is a policy issue. ...The art teachers work very hard to influence them (students) but they are often unsuccessful because the kids know that they won't be tested at the end. If they are not going to be tested, why taking trouble? So it is something that does not count on their life; you see? ...That is one. And number two is the attitudes; because the kids don't have a positive attitude. Even when they themselves, in their lives like good things. They would like art as they see it produced in

> most of the things they wear; in most of the things they carry; good things they see; good buildings and stuff like that. So when it comes to doing art, they are not given enough opportunity to explore themselves.

Like in many countries, examinations in Tanzania have a big influence on whether a subject is ranked important or unimportant. The same thing has been observed with art in Tanzania's primary schools, where the subject doesn't feature in the final primary education examinations. Throughout the Tanzanian educational system, examinations are used to determine the level of performance of learners. A student's knowledge on a particular subject is greatly determined by the way he or she performs in examinations. In most cases these examinations include continuous assessment tests and the final examinations. Teachers colleges in Tanzania consider examinations as a major part in ensuring and promoting professional competence. The Tanzania Integrated Education and Training Policy (1993) notes the importance of examinations in teacher education. The policy outlines that:

> Certification of Teacher Education Level: Teacher education aims at ensuring and promoting professional competence. Final assessment is dominated by terminal test for the theoretical part of the training. Practical training is only assessed through SLPT and BTP and the results of this assessment are used as a partial basis for certificate and diploma awards. In order to ensure the prominence of practical training methods in teacher education: the basis for Certification of teacher trainers shall be Continuous Assessment, Block Teaching Practice and Final written Examinations. (pp. 64)

As observed through the 1993 education policy, student performance is emphasized through examinations. This emphasis on examinations does, as already noted, make students put more effort in studying subjects that are examinable. Students are not ready to spend their precious study time working on a subject that has nothing to do with their success or failure in college. A college student has the following comments concerning the effect of examinations on a subject like art that is not examinable. The student stresses that:

> Studying art at college is a waste of time. The subject is not examinable in the final college examinations and thus doesn't have any effect on my success or failure. I don't hate to study art, but I would rather use my time to study for examinations instead of taking a subject for fun. I am quite aware that art is included in the timetable in primary schools - where I will go to teach after my graduation from college, but then what do I do when the subject is not valued here. That is why it doesn't feature in the final examinations. I know that I won't be asked what I have learned in art, in order to get my certification, at the end of my college education, so why bother?

Regarding the above account, students are not to blame because they work under a set system and they have to adhere to set standards of performance to be judged as successful. Students have to struggle and work for their continuous assessment, teaching practice and final examination grade that will determine whether they can be teachers or not. Sika discusses the impact of examinations on subjects that are not examinable. Sika narrates his contention with reference to students' attitude towards the study of art in teachers' colleges. He contends that:

> You could find that when you (teacher) go into class, you try hard to convince an individual student teacher to put more emphasis on learning art, and that such knowledge would possibly be useful in the future, but none of them agrees with you. This is because they see that this subject (art) is included in the syllabus but it doesn't exist in the final college examinations. The subject is seen to have no meaning or value. At present, the subject hasn't been taken for examining by the Examination Board. The subject is still with the Ministry of education. So you find that only subjects under the Examination Board are the ones seen as important. When students first come for their first year, they could continue attending art lessons, but when they reach their second year, they come to realize that this subject (or they even hear from other teachers who say that this subject is not important) is not even examinable, so it does not carry any value and it is not helpful in any way in the future. It is thus a waste of time taking it.

Because of the low value and minimal recognition given to art education in colleges, teachers have problems keeping students in art classes. As it can be deduced from Sika's views, art classes normally begin with many students but as time goes by this number progressively dwindles down. Students come to realize that art is not an important subject that can mean anything in their teaching career. The big enrollment of students in art classes experienced in first year of college in a way suggests that students are eager to study art but they are only put off by the way the subject is degraded and rendered as useless. Another college student discusses her attitude toward the subject. She narrates:

> Art is not treated as an important subject here in the college, a thing that makes many students lose interest in studying the subject. I personally would like to take art lessons seriously, but I am demoralized by the numerous problems that linger around its existence as a subject worth sacrificing the effort, energy and time. For instance, apart from the subject being despised and therefore not being included as an examinable subject, art teaching and learning is made difficult and meaningless due to lack of the necessary materials. Art classes are not provided with sufficient teaching and learning materials to allow for ample experimentation and practice of what is taught. Basic materials like colors, inks and papers are rare in our college. The other limiting factor is that art lessons demand putting a lot of time in their learning. Now when I consider the fact that art is not examinable, I come to realize that taking the subject seriously can mean spending much of the time I need to study examinable subjects. In this way, art becomes a spare time subject for many, other wise, interested students.

7.4 Butimba College Art Program

Despite the discussion above concerning the poor state of art teaching and learning in colleges, it is worth mentioning that the Ministry of Education has not totally neglected the training of art teachers. Butimba Teachers College offers art training at certificate level. The Butimba art program is different from those of other colleges in the sense that it is more professionally oriented and hence does emphasise more on the technical aspects of art teaching and learning. The course aims at enabling students graduating from the program to become both competent artists and good teachers. In that sense, the program provides a workable balance between professional art training and teacher education. Butimba art education program has already proved viable in terms of the good quality of graduates that come out of it. Despite acute shortages of art materials, and other relevant teaching and learning equipment, the program continues to struggle for its survival. At present, the Butimba art education program is able to supply graduates who are posted to teach art in Teachers' Colleges and Secondary Schools. Some graduates also become cultural officers. It is how ever unfortunate, that none of these graduates go to teach in primary schools - for which the program was originally designed. This is because it was seen that teachers colleges and secondary schools have acute shortage of art teachers, so the plan was changed to allow the program to first satisfy the demand in these higher institutions before moving on to primary schools. The program, which was firstly launched at the Dar-Es-salaam Teachers College in the early seventies (1971), and later on transferred to Butimba has not been able to fulfill its original goal. Prof. Mlama, (undated) discusses the problem of the shortage of art teachers in colleges and secondary schools. In her discussion, Mlama refers to the role the Butimba Teachers College art program has been playing in attempting to satisfy the demand for art teachers. Mlama asserts that:

> So as to solve the problems of unavailability of art teachers in primary schools, the Ministry of National Education (the Ministry of Education and Culture) started an art education certificate course at Changombe College of National Education (Dar-Es-salaam Teachers College) and later the program was transferred to Butimba. But due to an acute shortage of art teachers, graduates from this college (Butimba) go to teach in Secondary schools and colleges of national education. Nonetheless, the number of graduates (about 15-20 per year) who graduate from Butimba do not satisfy the high demand. By posting these art education certificate graduates to secondary schools and teachers colleges, means that there are no teachers who are sent to teach in primary schools. (pp. 9-10, my own translation)

Jumbani does elaborate on the small number of art graduates. Jumbani states that:

> The number of graduates does alternate. We have twenty-ten (20-10). If we produce 10 this year, next year it will be 20. This depends on the size of the classrooms we have. The maximum it can hold in one classroom is 20 and the other one is 10. So if we intend to take 10 this year, the next year we will take 20. We can get 20 this year, the next year we will take 10. So it can average to fifteen.

7.4.1 Student Enrollment

The small number of graduates from Butimba delays the fulfillment of the demand for teachers required for art teaching in schools and colleges. As observed through Jumbani's relation above, one of the causes of this small output of graduates is the lack of space. Butimba teachers college experiences insufficiency of teaching space thus forcing the program to only accept a limited intake of student teachers per year. The college's art department has only two rooms, one of which can hold a maximum of 15 students and the second one a maximum of 20. This means the department can only manage to accommodate student intake, by alternating two classes of first and second years, one of which could at a time, have 15 students and the other 20.

Lack of space here does limit the number of admissible students in a year. Moreover, the qualifications of candidates - what admission requirements they have to meet before being accepted by the college, does as well influence and determine the quality of acceptable candidates. The college can only enroll in-service grade III A teachers; teachers who have been in the teaching profession and thus gained the teaching experience. The program however does not admit in-service teachers with teaching qualifications below grade III A, that is grades III B and III C, as it used to be during the initial years of the programs establishment. The program also does not accept pre-service candidates, though in the future the college will now be enrolling students who complete high school with passes in fine art. This is after the Ministry of

Education's decision to establish A-Level examinations in fine art. By the program only accepting grade III A teachers, the college confines itself to merely choosing admissible candidates from this limited grade III A teachers pool. And the very inadequate teaching and learning of art that happens in Secondary schools and teachers colleges considerably limits the number of grade III A teachers with sufficient knowledge of art to well meet the set admission requirements. To get an idea of the effect of these limitations on the number and academic quality of candidates enrolled in the program, Jumbani, the vice-principal, does assert that:

> ...We have problems. The actual qualifications say that somebody should have qualified form IV education. And also he must be a grade III A teacher. But these are not necessarily good teachers for art. Sometimes you get very nice people; very nice artist who are not grade III As, and sometimes they have not finished form four!! So that we get these form fours, but they are not as good as we would expect. So these are the problems that we have been facing. A very nice artist; a very nice art teacher; but the qualifications; the entry qualifications do not allow . ... So that is one of the problems, and for these; some of those who are form four graduates, are academically qualified, yes; but when it comes to practical aspect of art, they are not good enough. But essentially, the main source for our students is from in service grade III A teachers. But is expected, may be in future, we will be receiving ex-form VI pre-service student teachers who have taken art, who will be coming direct from school. So this reflects what my friend in the Institute of Education was saying, that the distribution of these art syllabuses in form VI (high schools); after students' graduation in these schools, then they will be admitted directly to this college. So as for now, the main source is from the in-service students.

Mwasanga does also comment on this Butimba art teachers program by noting that the set of admission requirements demanded by the college leaves aside some good artists who don't have teaching certification. Mwasanga stresses that:

> ... So there is the Butimba in Mwanza; Butimba Teachers College, this college takes only in-service teachers. Unless you are a teacher, a qualified teacher; let's say practising; that is when you can get access to this college. So this leaves people who have not gone to school aside. And it leaves people who have finished secondary school studies but they are not teachers; they have no access to it.

Prof. Jengo is likewise concerned with this limited and segregative enrollment of art student teachers at Butimba. He states that:

> ... Unfortunately we don't have rich people in this country to start art academies. ... Now in Butimba it is a different thing. If you are not a graduate teacher, it is a problem. There was a time when they used to take non grade III A teachers - talented people. But now they no longer accept them. ...So they take very few students. I think 10 or 20 per year, or something like that. So there are those factors. If we had private academies, and I am dreaming that one day I might have a private academy, where all people who really like art, whether in sculpture or design, or in painting can come and practice their skills.

7.5 School Inspectors

The other important thing that comes about in the research is the role of school and college inspectors. These Ministry of Education and Culture officials such as inspectors are supposed to bridge the space between the Ministry and the educational institutions under it. The research, however indicates that this crucial role of linkage does not seem to bring about any substantial alleviation to the problems facing art education. The role of inspectors appears not to be fully utilized or possibly neglected. The study indicates that reports compiled by inspectors about the state of art teaching and learning in colleges does not bring about the expected action and reaction on the side of the Ministry of Education and culture. Macha does present a lengthy and touching account concerning the role of art inspectors and the chances that such officials can possibly bring about any positive changes in the development of art education in colleges. Macha narrates:

> Yeah; there is one inspector in the inspectorate whose specialty is fine art. He comes around; he moves around inspecting art subjects in colleges and also in secondary schools. This official is from the Ministry of Education and Culture. And off course he finds that the subject is not being properly taught and so on. No teaching materials. But what can he do? He is only inspecting; there is no money. He can't change anything. Because any changes have to start from the top. He writes his report and this report is sent to the Ministry, but nothing is

> done. Yeah! so all the years. So it is - in fact sometime, when I talked to him last time; when he came around, I said, 'Okay, you come and inspect; but we have seen; we have identified our problems here. But what about other reports? Have they taken any effect?' He responded, 'Oh no! Nothing has been done.' So he keeps on writing the report to the Ministry, but nothing is being done. So the problem is with the Ministry. ...Yeah! exactly, exactly. In fact he was being frustrated. He said, maybe he was thinking of retiring; you know?; and do something else, because he couldn't see the effect of it. Inspecting, writing reports, and writing proposals to do this and that, but nothing can be done. Fine art can only be taught effectively if you have all the materials you want. This is like a qualified doctor who has no facilities to treat the patient. No medicine to treat the patient. So he will be a good doctor but no medicine. So the same thing. By having a doctor without medicine it is just useless. So you know; same thing. Having trained teachers in the secondary schools and in the colleges without materials, it is useless. So, here we are. I teach fine art here, but as I said, well, I don't get teaching materials. I just improvise and improvisation is limited. You find yourself doing one or two things only.

It is worth noting that during the period of this research there was no art inspector at the Ministry of Education. The inspector who was with the Ministry had by then been transferred to a regional (zone) centre, after his successful completion of a Masters degree. At one point of the research, the following was expressed by Jumbani, in response to the question whether there was an art inspector at the Ministry of Education. Jumbani strongly negates:

> This is also funny. It would appear to me that surely there is no body who is taking care of visual arts in the ministry. For instance for now, an official who is coordinating the art courses here at Butimba; she is a lady who specializes in domestic science. She has no ABC in visual arts or whatever kind of art. In brief, I would not hesitate to say she is ignorant of the arts. And if she is informed; it is very very little. So when we come to talk of this art business; she is less, less informed. So you can also see the role she plays. When you are less informed, you definitely also play a lesser role. You do not attach a significance of it. I mean, you do not put enough effort to make sure that these things are successful. And she is the one who is supposed to actually ensure that there are art supplies in schools; the training of the art teachers for art. I mean it is a serious problem. We used to have , for instance examinations panels composed of members from the University of Dar-Es-salaam; from the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Institute of Education. And also members from the zone secondary school inspectors. But this has stopped. The reasons that were given is that there is no money to meet the expenses to maintain these people. So during the interviews, we don't have these members. During the examination period; that is the examination council period, we do not have these people coming in. So you can just see how things happen. They are taking things so lightly. And it is an indicator, actually, that there is no seriousness in

> considering that there is value in these subjects in colleges and in secondary schools. If such things can happen at the top; what do you expect the development of visual arts to be in the field? Because these are the decision makers. They are the ones who will allocate certain funds to meet certain expenses; certain costs of the materials for the arts development; and yet they are the people who don't seem to be aware of what is happening in the field. So it is a big problem. In the inspectorate, we used to have one co-ordinator, that is Mr. Mbwambo; you remember, but he is no longer there! He is now in the headquarters of Dar-Es-salaam and coast region schools inspectorate department. So we don't have any body there (in the Ministry). We do not have anybody for music; we do not have any body for the visual arts and we do not have any body for theatre arts. So there is no body who is representing these arts in the Ministry of Education.

7.6 Conclusion

Based upon the data collected it can be concluded that the teaching and learning of art education in colleges is substandard at best. Art education in these colleges in confronted by numerous constraints that need some immediate consideration and possible solution in order to rescue the subject. Principals of teachers colleges; those who do not have a positive attitude towards the subject require to be enlightened concerning the place and role of art in society. It is needful that all college principals come to respect the subject and give it the chance to flourish for the betterment of Tanzania's future generation. Teachers colleges need to fully utilize the service of art teachers in order to offer their student teachers ample and meaningful exposure to art education. The problem of art materials, equipment and teaching and learning space has to be looked into. The Ministry of Education and Culture need to give more close recognition to the subject and look for a possible way to solve this problem of teaching and learning facilities. The shortage of college art teachers requires a solution. Butimba teachers college needs substantial financial support so as to operate with maximum capacity. Butimba has a principal who is very caring of the subject. What is needed here is to offer him the support he requires. Butimba teachers college art program calls for expansion so as to increase its student enrollment capability - especially when ex-form VI art student are expected to join the college in the near future. Apart from the Butimba art program, more establishment of similar programs in other colleges is necessary, so as to curb the present demand for art teachers in other colleges; secondary and primary schools. The last, though not least issue to be looked into is examinations in art. As is has been widely expressed in the research, final college art examination are crucial in deciding on the status of the subject. When other ranked 'important' subjects such as the Sciences are examinable, art is bound to remain unpopular in colleges unless it as well joins the rank of these other examinable subjects. Therefore some more research is called for in finding out the effect of college examinations on the status and value of art education in these institutions.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Art at University Level

In Tanzania, the University of Dar-Es-salaam is the only institution that offers art studies at degree level. Art studies were introduced at the University in 1975, when the Fine Art sub-department was established. At the University of Dar-Es-salaam the departments of Art, Music and Theatre exist under one single department of Art, Music and Theatre. Under this arrangement the separate departments of Art, Music and Theatre are refered to as sub-departments. For purposes of this discussion, I will therefore refer to the art department as a sub-department.

The Art sub-department, as noted, exists under the main department of Art, Music and Theatre, in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. The Faculty of Education in collaboration with the Art sub-department, also offers art education courses for art teachers. The Faculty of Education is now, however, recruiting its own art teachers, to teach its art education courses. The Art, Music and Theatre department has been offering art teaching and learning for over 20 years now. The University of Dar-Es-salaam and the Ministry of Education and Culture, the present Ministry, are to be credited for facilitating the establishment of art at degree level. The Art sub-department was established to train art teachers who after graduation go to teach the subject in teachers colleges, secondary schools and other related institutions. For instance, the Sub-department also trains artists who go to work in non-educational institutions such as textile; printing, and advertising design industries. Other graduates of the department join various departments of the Ministry of Education and Culture to work as cultural officers.

The existence of art teaching and learning at the University of Dar-Es-salaam has been very beneficial for the development of art and art education in the Tanzanian society. As noted above, the program has contributed amply to alleviate the shortage of art teachers in institutions of learning, and also provided sectors that need art expertise with the professionals they require. However, the establishment and development of the art program has not been a smooth one. Like in the lower institutions discussed above, art education at the University level has, as well, encountered several limiting factors. The major problems that have affected the development and smooth running of the program are the absence of sufficient teaching and learning space; the lack of adequate supply of art teaching and learning materials and equipment and the notable scarcity of qualified candidates with sufficient university entry qualifications to join the department as students.

8.1 Teaching Space

Shortage of teaching space for the Art sub-department is at present quite severe. From the time of the department's inception teaching has been done along a single corridor within the University. The art program is run along the basement corridor of the geography building, a space also being shared with the department of statistics. Within this basement, the Art sub-department temporarily occupies two small rooms, one of which is used as a studio for all first, second and third year students and the second one is used as an administrative office for the head of the Art sub-department. Masanja comments on the problem of teaching and learning space by relating that:

> Teaching space is a problem, even at the University. It is a shame that the University now is teaching art on the corridor. Now if the University is teaching art on the corridor; along the corridor; how about in primary schools? It is really a problem. And this also reflects the teaching materials problem. And it is also just like a vicious circle. We go back; if we don't have teaching

> space; so we don't have teaching materials; so we don't have people who could perpetuate; develop or force; instigate this subject; so we go on this trend of missing this and this, because of this and this. Unless someone breaks the ice and says 'Okay we want this and that;' ...research like this one are the ones which off course could explain - if at all people are interested in knowing the problem. Otherwise we could do a lot of work; do a lot of research; move here and there; give people ideas and then they don't see the potential. ...But there will be a time; I am sure this could at least try to bring something - at least we will have a place to go or an initial place to start with.

Teaching space is a sure limiting factor. How can meaningful teaching and learning take place along a corridor that is constantly being used by passers or by people moving to and from the two departmental offices? Since the corridor is used by all art students, there is a time when there are two or three classes taking place at the same time and at close vicinity. This situation can, at times, be disrupting to the teachers and students. The small room that is set aside as a studio is used for both lectures and studio work. In this way, the room is always packed with processed and unprocessed clay; unfinished and finished, ready to dry clay sculptures and ceramic works.

Because of the scarcity of space in the studio, lectures usually take place in the departmental office, and only to be constantly disrupted by official and unofficial visitors. Under such difficult conditions, some lectures also take place in the personal offices of lecturers and professors. Such an unconducive working environment has strongly affected the quality of teaching and learning.

For over twenty years now, students in the program have not been provided with enough personal working space, which is normally available in studios of well established art schools. Due to the lack of working space, students are unable to securely store uncompleted art works. Clay works, for example, need to be left undisturbed during the working process. Clay sculptures also take time to complete, (sometimes days), and thus require being kept moist and immobile so as to continue to be workable till completion. Oil paintings also need special care and proper storage during the working process as the colors used take a long time to dry. In the absence of enough space, students are usually compelled to move uncompleted art works from place to place; a thing that occasionally results in ruining them. Lack of space also makes it difficult for students to undertake several experimentations on their art creations due to the absence of personal storage space. This problem is well noted in clay modeling and sculpture processes that use plenty of wet clay. Working on many experimental clay works requires space that is at the same time needed by other students. In discussing the problems confronting the Art sub-department, Muhando comments:

> ...But I don't think they have developed the University - Department of Fine Art - up to its deserved level. You see, you still find it is very much underprivileged as compared to other departments in Universities in other countries. So I have this feeling that our elite be it in the Ministry or in other infrastructures has been misdirected to think of art as simply decorative. And this does not only affect these arts, you know, the visual arts, but it affects things like music as well.

8.2 Teaching Materials and Equipment

Apart from the problem of teaching space, the art program is also faced with an acute shortage of art teaching and learning materials and equipment. Due to this shortage, the department is not able to supply students with art materials as it used to in the past. From 1975, when this Art sub-department was established up to around 1983, the program had an adequate supply of the necessary teaching and learning materials. For instance, the art store used to be well stocked with materials like colors, brushes and paper. Other teaching and learning requirements, such as drawing, sculpting and carving equipment were available as well. The Art sub-department also had plenty of easels and drawing and painting tables; things which are now worn out and not in use. I, the researcher, have a first hand experience of the problems encountered by the Art sub-department. I did experience the good times of ample supply of materials and equipment from 1977 up to 1980, when I was an art student in the same Art sub-department. And after graduating, from April 1980, I was appointed to join the teaching staff in the same program, a position which I still hold.

Reasons for the insufficient supply of teaching and learning materials and equipment is in this case economic. The Art sub-department does not get (from the University) sufficient funds to purchase these necessities. Shortage of funds is not a recent phenomenon, since even the good supplies which the department experienced in the past, were mostly from donor agents. The Federal Republic of Germany, and Sweden, are notable examples.

For meaningful student learning, the University needs to find ways of solving this problem. Students can not be left alone to look for ad-hoc solutions. Even if individual students have the funds to buy the materials, these supplies are not easily found in stores. Presently there are no stores in Tanzania that specialize in art supplies. In this way, students spend a lot of their precious study time looking for art supplies that can not be found. A recent (1994) graduate of the Art sub-department comments:

> The quality of art education at the University of Dar-Es-salaam is much affected by the inadequate supply of art materials. The department doesn't have sufficient supply of the necessary materials such as water colors, oil colors and printing colors. Paper supply is as well very limited. The Art sub-department doesn't even have necessities like easels and sculpting and carving equipment. Because such important materials are no longer adequately supplied by the department, individual students are left to look for these things on their own. On the other hand, looking for these materials in shops is quite a frustrating task. Art materials are difficult to locate in Dar-Es-salaam shops. A person can spend days looking for a single item without success. It is quite frustrating!!

Jumbani has the following comments on the unavailability of art materials and equipment in stores:

> It is quite a big problem to find these materials. And as I am saying; whereas you could go in stores and get materials for other subjects quite easily; it would take may be months searching art materials in stores. And sometimes one needs to do some renovations of some kind; you search even the materials which are not actually proper for art; but you have to work with whatever is available. But there aren't enough materials for art; both when you consider the tools and other equipment necessary. Let's say...it is not something which you could much into the store and buy one. The chances are quite rare. And sometimes you do not get the correct materials which you are looking for.

Kundy speaks of the problem of the inavailability of art materials in stores by saying that:

> You know, an art school or an art class requires a lot of money. I mean just like a laboratory for chemistry or biology or physics. ...But colors have been out of question in this country. Even in art shops you won't find colors.

It is noted in the discussion above that art materials are difficult to find in Tanzania. It is worth noting, however that this scarcity does refer to materials that are imported from foreign countries. Individual businessmen do not give priority to importing art materials and equipment. In this way, you find stores stocked with many imported goods, but when you ask for art materials, many store-keepers (shopkeepers) do not even know what these materials are!! One storekeeper in Dar-Es-salaam had the following to say, when asked if he had art materials on sale; things like brushes and colors:

> I don't sell such materials. First of all I am not sure If I understood what you are talking about. I only sell household paint and brushes. For these items; I am sure of the market. Many people buy household paint and brushes. I don't import art materials; things which I am not sure of the market.

The Ministry of Education and Culture has a business organization: "Tanzania Elimu Supplies", an organization that is solely responsible for importing and selling of educational teaching and learning materials, stationaries and equipment. On my visit to the store in Dar-Es-salaam, during my research, I could not find any art materials. The shelves of the store were almost empty. In this Tanzania Elimu Supplies Store, not only art materials were absent but also other necessary school supplies, such as text books and stationaries were inadequately stocked.

Relating to the preceding discussion, it is seen that the problem of unavailability of art materials and equipment in stores is an acute one. Unless and until art materials and equipment are readily available in stores and educational institutions, such as the University of Dar-Es-salaam, art education will continue to suffer. The Ministry of Education ad Culture needs to find ways of funding and stocking the Tanzania Elimu Supplies so as to make these teaching and learning necessities readily available.

8.3 Candidates for the Art Program

As noted above, the other crucial factor affecting the art program at the University of Dar-Es-salaam is the shortage of adequately qualified candidates. The art program has been operating under (low) capacity from the time of its inception. Because art is not being properly taught in primary schools, secondary schools and teachers colleges, it has been difficult for Tanzanians to acquire the high qualifications demanded by the University for admission into its programs. The absence of high school (grades 13 and 14), art education has also denied people the opportunity to pursue art studies at University level.

Prof. Jengo, comments on the difficulty in obtaining University admission, especially for candidates aspiring to study art. He states that:

> The problem with universities, not only ours, but many Universities in the world, demand very high standards, and that is why in Europe and elsewhere the academies grew up. If you are very good at music, you go to an academy.

> They only care about your music. If you are very good at painting or sculpture, you go to an art academy. You go with your folder of photographs of the examples of your art work. They take you. But most universities in the world depend on the A-levels; the classroom subject. 'How well did you do in this. And if you want to come to study art, these have to be the requisites. Have you a pass in art? Have you a pass in English? Or have you a pass in general paper or have you a pass in Kiswahili language?' You see? Universities are very restrictive. And that is why we lose a lot of talents. ...Those with talent in music and drama, and the visual arts. So this is a universal problem.

As Prof. Jengo stresses, the problem of getting University admission to study the visual arts is a universal one. But as emphasized above, this constraint is much greater for Tanzanian candidates who, at present, do not have the chances of studying the visual arts at high school level. Masanja discusses the same problem by asserting that:

> Now in Tanzania, art is taught up to Secondary School; up to O- level. Art is taught and examined. But at A-level (grade 13 and 14) - there is a gap here. No continuation of art at A-level. After O-level (secondary - grade 12); people have done their examination, and have passed in art, now we want to see what is next. They go to form five and form six (grade 13 and 14) - art is not taught; and no examination. There is no art being taught at that level. No subject combination! Because we see other combinations like P C G (Physics, Chemistry and Geography) or whatever, whatever, but there is no combination including art at all. But if art studies are introduced at A-level; those people who will get a chance to study these subjects and pass, will have a better chance to come to the University.

Prof. Mlama, *in Steps to Reinforce Art Education in Tanzania,* (undated) acknowledges the presence of constraints in obtaining University admission for art candidates. She stresses that the present art education offered by Tanzania schools and teachers colleges is not sufficient to enable art education candidates to secure University admission. Prof. Mlama cites Butimba Teachers College art program as an exception. She gives the following account:

> Any student, even if he/she studied art, music and theatre as option subjects in primary schools; secondary schools and teachers colleges (grade III A and B) does not get enough art education foundation that can enable him to secure

> admission. This is because, for a student to get University admission, he is supposed to have studied these subjects and passed at high school level (A-level) or at Teacher Education Diploma Level. ...This situation has had great repercussions for art, music, and theatre students who join the department. These repercussions are:
>
> 1) Very few students secure admission into the department. In all the three sub-departments, (art, music, and theatre arts) the average total number of students in the three years (year 1, year 2 and year 3 students) in any academic year, hardly reaches 30. This happens because there are no prospective candidates with high school passes in art or art teacher education diploma. This is because this level of education in art, music, and theatre is not offered in Tanzania. Students who are admitted into this department of Art, Music and Theatre do so using qualifications of other subjects that are being taught at high school (grade 13 and 14), or Teachers Education Diploma level. For instance, a student who is eager to study art at the University is obligated to study and do examinations in history, geography, Kiswahili language, etcetera, so as to get the required general qualifications. Once admitted into the university, one can take any subjects within the faculty. (pg. 15-16, my own translation)

Regarding Prof. Mlama's above contention, it needs to be noted that a good number of students who join the Department of Art, Music and Theatre, do secure this admission having qualified in subjects other than those of art, music and theatre. In the first place, many of these students are accepted by the University of Dar-Es-salaam to study other subjects such as sociology, Kiswahili language, history or geography, and sometimes to study in a discipline like Management and Administration (as was the case with me-the researcher). But once these students are accepted by the University, they immediately seek official permission to change subjects in favor of art, music and theatre.

Now when such students are allowed to join the department of Art Music and Theatre, they do so without the necessary qualifications relevant to art, music and theatre subjects. In this way, you find that many students in the Department of Art, Music and Theatre are extremely underqualified to study in the department. Some of these students do not even have an Ordinary Level pass (grade 12) in either art, music or theater. It only happens that these are the people who love to study these subjects, and thus possess the vigor and great devotion that helps them to push along (with difficulty) through the tough and vigorous university education. Prof. Mlama, in *Steps to Reinforce Art Education in Tanzania,* (undated) comments more on this issue of university admission.

> Students who join the department of Art, Music and Theatre by using qualifications of other subjects, do usually have very low knowledge of art, music and theatre. This is because art, music and theatre subjects are not taught at high school level (grades 13 and 14) or at Teacher Education Diploma level. In most cases, either these students have studied art up to ordinary level (grade 12) or have studied it at Teacher Education Certificate level (grade III A). These levels of art education are not good (high) enough to enable students to easily cope with university education. It also happens that some of these students have never studied art, music or theatre at primary school, secondary school or teachers college level. ...Such situations bring about many difficulties in teaching. (pg. 16, my own translation)

8.4 Summary

Following the above discussion, one observes that the University of Dar-Es-salaam art program is highly under-utilized. Lack of qualified candidates for enrollment in the art program causes the department to run under low capacity. This low student enrollment has several effects on the development of art and art education in the country. First, the demand for art teachers in schools and colleges will not be met easily due to the small number of art graduates coming out of the department per year. Second, the demand for professional artists who work in institutions other than education will not easily be fulfilled. The non-education sectors that require graduate professional artists, such as printing, packaging and publishing industries, will have to wait for a long time before they get highly qualified university graduate artists and designers. The cultural sector that makes use of qualified artists to work as cultural officers will not fulfill this need in the foreseeable future.

Prof. Mlama, (undated) summarizes the effects of low enrollment in the Art, Music and Theatre department. She emphasizes that

> although art, music and theatre subjects are being taught at the University of Dar-Es-salaam ...there is no clear way that enables students who want to study these subjects to get university admission. The sub-departments keep on operation with low enrollment of students, while the demands for more trained teachers is very high. At the same time there is a very high demand for training cultural officers and professional artists who can work in printing, publishing and in the film industry. These demands can't easily be fulfilled due to the mentioned constraints. (p. 17, my own translation)

But increasing student enrollment alone will not ensure high quality graduates in art and art education, unless the other constraints discussed above are carefully and effectively dealt with. The University of Dar-Es-salaam has to look for ways of providing the Art sub-department with sufficient teaching and learning space and facilities. The scarcity of teaching and learning materials and equipment needs to be resolved. Instead of relying on private stores to stock and sell art materials and equipment, the Ministry of Education and Culture has to ensure that Tanzania Elimu Supplies is adequately stocked with art supplies. The provision of conducive teaching and learning facilities is inevitable if high standards of art teaching and learning at the University of Dar-Es-salaam are to be achieved.

CHAPTER NINE

What do the Specific Sectors of the Artistic Cultural Infrastructures Consider to be the Role of Art and Art Education in Society?

For purposes of this question a number of cultural sectors dealing with the development of art and art education have been selected for discussion. Responses from some of these sectors have also already been included in the preceding discussions on the state of art and art education in schools, colleges, and the University of Dar-Es-Salaam. These selected sectors are the Institute of Education (Institute of Curriculum Development); The National Arts Council and the National Museum. Also featuring in the discussion are Nyumba ya Sanaa Art Centre and Makonde Carvers (Artists). Individuals in these cultural sectors have presented a variety of views concerning the role of art and art education in society. Discussed below are such views as presented by official representatives of these institutions.

9.1 The Institute of Education

The Institute of Education is a directorate of the Ministry of Education and Culture that is entrusted with the development and evaluation of schools and colleges curricula. In this case, the Institute is concerned with the development and evaluation of curricula for primary schools, secondary schools, and teachers colleges. The University of Dar-Es-salaam develops and evaluates its own curricula. The Institute of Education, thus, has a department that concerns itself with the development and evaluation of art education curriculum. This department also serves for music and theatre education curricula.

9.1.1 The Role of Art in Society

The Institute of Education realises the importance of art and art education in society and it acknowledges that art has a role in a country's social, economic and cultural activities. When answering the question as to whether it is possible to use art in society for the construction of a national cultural identity, Kundy, the head of the art curriculum development and evaluation section, has the opinion that any society or community has a cultural identity of some sort. In his response, Kundy elaborates on the role of art and art education in Tanzania.

> Yeah, I think...it is clear that there is cultural identity in every society. For example, Tanzania is one of the famous countries in this globe. Its fame is upon cultural issues like the Makonde carvings, you know; and we have a heritage of wild animals which have been a vast tourist attraction. So that is also an identity. And identity is actually something cultural; something to do with the environment. You can find that there is something we have here that our neighbours like the Kenyans don't have. So that is enough to make us a bit different from them. Now if Tanzania has its own peculiar environment, then I think it might have its own peculiar identity; and this identity can be expressed through art. So it is very possible to develop a national identity through art.

According to Kundy, art is a means of expression and its role in society is to express or make known the various human and environmental activities that take place in a society and community. As Kundy observes, through the help of art and many other human social economic and cultural activities, a country is made known in a particular way by the outside world. In this way, a country's cultural identity(ies) as seen or understood from out side has much to do with the cultural products that are exported to such countries. Hence, such an identity(ies), constructed from outside, could be different from that which is seen or experienced from inside the country. Such an identity could in some cases be misleading depending upon the way it is being portrayed and understood or misunderstood by the outside world. Through this expressive activity, which is essentially an educational function, art is able to make its contribution towards the construction of a societal or national cultural identity. Apart from this realization of the central educative role of art in society, Kundy is of the opinion that many people in Tanzania do have a narrow understanding of art. Many of these people are not aware of the broad spectrum of human and environmental activities that encompass art. A notable example of this narrow understanding of art is observed in schools. Kundy asserts that teachers

> ...have a very narrow idea of art; so you find that when you talk of art in our schools, they just go to painting and drawing; and which is not really the point. There is a lot more in art. We have so many things we could do like clay modelling, carving, collage, and assemblage (using locally available materials) which would help students and teachers appreciate art from the forms they develop.

When schools seem to have a narrow understanding of art, the community at large appears not to see art as a priority in life. Kundy relates that many Tanzanians do not seem to realize the importance of appreciating and engaging in art activities. In a predominantly agricultural country like Tanzania, people do value directly productive undertakings like farming more than art activities like embroidery, painting, carving. Kundy comments:

> We have another problem, that the (Tanzanian) society at large never appreciates art. As I told you before, the level of aesthetic consciousness is very low in this country. You will find that parents would like their pupils (children) to do any other manual work like farming, rather than sitting and doing things like embroidery, clay modelling, drawing or painting. They consider that not to be a necessity; not basic in life. So, you will find even in the talking...when they talk about art, they won't talk in a serious way. You will find that they say 'Mnachorachora tu'. That meaning you are not involved in serious and valuable engagement. You are just playing... Yes just like playing. ...So that you find it is a very bad kind of mentality.

Reading from Kundy's observation, the majority of Tanzanians have other important priorities and not art. Art to them is a luxurious engagement, only suited for the more affluent people. The majority of Tanzanians are not rich and hence the struggle for daily survival is priority number one. How can someone sit back to appreciate mere aesthetics when he or she is busy working for his or her day's bread? The appreciation of mere aesthetics; the admiration of art works that are detached form their functional premises is not popular to the majority of Tanzanians. To emphasize this contention, Kundy relates his experience with art buyers or customers and exhibitions in Dar-Es-Salaam .

> Okay, we have some other examples, really, of why I may say that the level of consciousness; I mean of aesthetics, is very low in our country; taking into consideration the towns in which we live, and other important places. You won't find anything artistic in them. Places are never interesting because there is'nt any form of art put there to make things or the environment wonderful and attractive. ...And you can see that; even some old images or forms we made in our towns are being destroyed; while people are looking. So that is why I say we have a very low level of aesthetic consciousness - that is going to lead into the peoples reaction, as far as art is concerned. ...People won't let their children enjoy much of their time in art. People would like to see their children making other things, but not art. And people won't buy art. People won't take art as one way of giving presents to each other, you see!! So 'white' people come here and they admire art. They go to art exhibitions. When exhibitions are announced, and you go there, you find few of our people there. But 'white' people are there in lots. Now I ask myself 'Why, why, there is no consciousness of art among our people?'

Kundy is quite right in his contention that the majority of Tanzanians do not visit museums or attend art exhibitions. Going to any of the Dar-Es-Salaam art exhibitions, one immediately notices the visible dominance of the foreign audience and customer. Most of the people who visit the National Museum or any of the occasional art exhibitions at the Goethe Institut and the French Cultural Centre are foreigners. However, this low attendance by Tanzanians at these art functions could not be solely due to low level of aesthetic consciousness. Possession of low level of aesthetic consciousness can not be a reason, good enough to cut across the entire Tanzanian population. And it is not likely that Tanzanians who do not have time for art or those who do not buy art and attend exhibitions have a total lack of aesthetic consciousness. This is because the art that appears in city exhibitions, like Dar-Es-Salaam is predominantly unfamiliar in nature to the majority of Tanzanians. Unfamiliar in the sense that such works appear in exhibitions as mere art for appreciation - devoid of any immediate functional purpose. Tanzanians, like any other people in the world, do appreciate some type of art while being indifferent to another. The majority of Tanzanians do appreciate works such as basketry, printed and dyed textiles, art that has relevance and immediate functional purpose to them. Kundy, however appears to be aware of this misconception and cautions:

> Yeah, actually when we talk of art here, in this sense; we must be specific because we have other forms of art which are very well appreciated. ...But if we come to the visual arts, like drawing and painting; these ones are a bit academic. I think perhaps, that is what is making them look strange to our people.

Kundy's observation that most of the art exhibited in places like Dar-Es-salaam looks strange to the people has some sence. Art works such as paintings, drawings, prints and commercial designs are not that familiar to many of the local population. It is not easy for many people to see or know the link between such art and their daily social economic and cultural activities. The distance separating this type of art and the population it is surposed to serve is so great that it hinders a meaningful communication and understanding between the two.

9.1. 2 Peoples' Education on the Role of Art

Even though this Institute of Education spokesperson is assuming that people do not appreciate art because of their low level of aesthetic consciousness, he is still aware that these same people do appreciate some other forms of art. Kundy observes that the majority of Tanzanian people do not fully understand the art works displayed in exhibitions or put on sale in curio shops along the streets of downtown Dar-Es-Salaam or other places in Tanzania. This respondent is, therefore, of the opinion that Tanzanians need to be enlightened about aesthetics. People need to be educated on how to read and understand images or, as Kundy calls them, 'a bit academic works of art.' But how do we educate and broaden the aesthetic consciousness of the majority of Tanzanians? In this, Kundy does suggest using the educational system as an effective and dependable way to reach and enlighten the people. He argues that:

> But I think if we are to make any kind of correction; if we were to make art being appreciated and therefore raise the consciousness and understanding art; we have to use our schools. We have untrained teachers in our schools. So we have to begin with these people. We have to train them first, so that they become well-equipped with art knowledge. So that we can get them train our pupils.

On top of reinforcing art education and aesthetic awareness in schools and colleges, Kundy recommends that relevant aesthetic education be given to the community in the form of seminars, workshops, etcetera. Kundy adds:

> And I think there is also a need to have things which will bring people together and try to enlighten them about art. Yah, we can have seminars; we can have public talks about art and the importance of it so that people can know that.

Reflecting on his past experience concerning the social role of art and people's aesthetic consciousness Kundy observes that the visual arts, like painting, drawing, and design, are not well taken and understood during National health campaigns like those for the AIDS-HIV desease awareness and control. In such educational campaigns, the performing arts, like drama and music are much easier understood by the people than the visual arts- which Kundy sees to be rather academic to the Tanzanian layman. Kundy relates:

> Yeah; you find we use art nowadays in the teaching of people about AIDS; the HIV disease. But in these arts, you find that most of the activities are dominated by the performing arts, as if they are the only ones which have much of the out put. The performing arts are very strong in this country and are very much appreciated than the visual arts, which, as I said, are a bit academic. The visual arts, have to a bigger extent been neglected from the past. So their coming up is really strange to the people. Even though we have painters nowadays; we have designers, okay, but their art still seems very strange to people. This is apparently because people have never been given opportunity to work and mingle in this kind of discipline as other arts like "ngoma" (this is dance). One could get involved in dancing activities in our local communities even without going to school, but things to do with the visual arts, like drawing and painting, have gone to the schools and have been seen to be a bit academic. So they are a bit strange. We have to take them back to the people. This is through the pupils themselves, and also organising some public talks; seminars to the general public, to make them aware of art.

9.1.3 Summary

The respondent from the Institute of Education strongly realises the need for people to be enlightened on ways of reading and understanding art. People need to know that art works do carry social economic and cultural messages that can be educative. Kundy feels that the majority of Tanzanian people do not seem to have much of this ability to read and understand art- works or pictures. The inability to understand and appreciate art works makes the central role of art in society - the educative role - unrealisable. If people do not understand a particular type of art, they most likely will not care about it, and hence will not get what ever message that art work would be carrying. And this is why Kundy emphasises the importance of educating the Tanzanian people on the role of art and art education in society. Through proper art education programs, both in schools and in communities at large, people will be introduced to understanding and appreciating various types of art works seen in Tanzania. In my own understanding therefore, all people need to be made to realise that art works are not just art works, but valuable human creations that are able to portray, carry and transmit social economic and cultural messages essential in our life and living. However, there is another point that is worth noting in Kundy's seemingly less emphasis on the "tribal" arts in his discussion. This is an indicator that the arts found in villages are, with time, carrying less importance and popularity due to the ever increasing penetration of foreign cultural products that tend to displace them. This point can be easily conceptualised when we think of the fact that most of the arts found in villages are utility products - made for immediate functional purposes. Kundy's discussion also indicates that the definition of "what is art" among some sectors of the Tanzanian population is very much limited to products or art works that have some connection with foreign, and in this case Western, culture. Most Tanzanian people who live in villages fully know the aesthetic values and impacts of their locally produced art works. Creative works like clay pots, mats, bead works and various constructions and decorations on utility items have their own unique aesthetic qualities and standards that are best known among the local people who create and use them.

9. 2 The National Arts Council

The National Arts Council is an institution of the Ministry of Education and Culture that is responsible for the development of the arts (art, music and theatre) outside the school system. The council is formed within the cultural wing of the Ministry of Education and Culture, and hence operates under the Commissioner of Culture. Within the commission of culture, the National Arts Council operates under the Directorate of Arts and National Languages. Philemon Mwasanga, head of the art department, spoke on issues concerning the question of the role of art and art education in society.

9.2.1 The Role of Art and Art Education in Society

Mwasanga, who is a trained, practicing and experienced artist and designer considers the role of art in society to be directly linked to the style through which the art in question is rendered. Mwasanga is of the opinion that societies do respond, understand and react to art depending on their familiarity with it. In this case it is possible that people can or cannot understand a particular art depending on the amount of their exposure to it. In the case of Tanzania, Mwasanga identifies two main groups of artists. First, there are the folk artists, whom he also refers to as traditional artists. The other identifiable group is that of contemporary artists. With reference to these two groups of artists, Mwasanga attempts to discuss the role of art and art education in society. Mwasanga agrees that art has a role in society. Art works are always created as products of particular cultures - cultures of their making. Mwasanga further observes that art in Tanzania is to a certain extent created with some dosage of external or foreign cultural influences. Mwasanga considers much of this foreign influence in contemporary art to be directed on its style. Contemporary artists are always changing their styles in response to various internal and external cultural forces they encounter. Whereas, on the side of folk artists, Mwasanga believes, change for them is mainly internally influenced. Mwasanga is of the idea that folk artists get creative ideas for their art exclusively from their own cultural settings; - from their own communities. Their creative ideas are not as externally influenced as those of contemporary artists. However, Mwasanga considers that the only notable foreign influence on folk art is in its means of creation; like colours and brushes, which are mainly imported from abroad. But the subject matter and style of folk art hardly is influenced by external cultural forces. Mwasanga, comments:

> Yeah; in principle, I think it is possible for art to have a role in society. I agree with you... It is possible for art, especially painting may be. ...I am saying it is possible because there are different types of painters in every country. If we take Tanzania, for example, we have painters of different qualities; different historical backgrounds, different academic achievements. So you find that we have contemporary painters - artists who are doing contemporary art, artists who have gone to school; who have formal knowledge about art. And sometimes because they have gone to school, they have developed experimental minds - they are always doing things on experimental basis; you see? ... So always his work is changing. So you find that an artist who has gone to school or who has been exposed very much to external ideas; he normally tends to choose and mix ideas. ...What he is doing...he wants to go with time; you see? But on the other side...we have other groups of artists - folk artists. If you go to folk art - in our case we have so many people doing this folk art, and a very good example in the Tinga Tinga art group based at Morogoro stores in Dar-Es-Salaam. Now those people are doing purely folk art. Some of them have traveled quite a lot, but their expensive trips abroad have not done anything to change their way of painting. Their art is purely traditional; you see? Contemporary painters, of course, they are doing-because they are Tanzanians. Of course they are portraying their culture; but their culture has been westernized due to external influence. But our friends, the Tinga Tinga and the like, their style of painting has no external influence. The only influence they have is that they are using foreign made paints and foreign materials like brushes and canvas and all that. But their ideas are still original.

After identifying the two main groups of art in Tanzania, Mwasanga goes on to discuss how the style of Tanzanian art determines the effectiveness of its role in society. The respondent observes that through his experience the Tanzanian society gets influenced by art that is understandable to them. People react to art works that carry conceivable meaning. Here 'conceivable meaning' refers to meaning that is either realistically presented and able to be read and understood or meaning that is portrayed through already well known symbolic representations or language, such as in the ancestral and other divine figures previously common to some precolonial rural

Tanzanian communities. In this case art in realistic style is seen to be more understandable than abstract rendering that uses symbolic language that is quite unfamiliar to the majority of people. Responding to the question as to whether realistic styles in some contemporary Tanzanian art can enable these works to have effective roles in society, Mwasanga replies:

> Yeah, Yeah. I think a person's style based on realism is more likely to do that because the culture; Tanzanian society, will understand him more. When he makes an abstract painting, here in Tanzania, very few people will understand him. Some people won't even expect to accept that art even when you give them as a present, because they don't know what intention you hold. ...So if you make a realistic painting of people, may be dancing at an initiation ceremony...may be it might be an initiation ceremony which involves their society... So people get so fascinated because they understand that theme so clearly. You see? So in that way that artist will be understood easily within the society.

According to Mwasanga, an effective art work needs to be clearly understood by the audience in question. People have to understand the message it carries so as to be able to relate it to whatever is happening in society. In this case realistic style in contemporary art is favoured for this reason of clarity compared to abstract art. The message carried in an abstract art work which uses symbolic language that is uncommon or unfamiliar is never clear to the eye of the concerned onlooker. The message, if at all there, is always hidden or not clearly expressed. Unfamiliar symbolic language employed in abstract rendering mystifies the message and hence makes the art work lose it's central purpose of enlightening the society.

In relation to realistic and abstract styles, Mwasanga comments on the possibility and ability of the Tanzanian audience to understand and interpret works of art. He observes that there is active communication through realistic art works, but with abstract art there is communication breakdown. Mwasanga asserts:

> Yeah, there is. There is a very big communication. But with - between abstract painters and the Tanzanian community there is communication breakdown. With the realists, there is some communication. For example we have realists who are doing these advertising. ...We have so many fine boards in the streets, and advertisements, wherever we go, and these are done in realist manner. Because if you make an advertisement in abstract form, then your intention is not to sell... So you find that realists are communicating with the community in that way. ...You see, what I am trying to say, on the images, is, if you want to communicate anything by using art; it is better you use realism. ...You can pass more message to those people by using realism.

Mwasanga's views strongly indicate that the Tanzanian community is able to read and understand realistic art. But then another question emerges. Is this art able to reach the community for whom it is intended? This question becomes even more viable when the majority of Tanzanians live in rural areas. Concerning people's accessibility to art works, Mwasanga recounts:

> Yeah, it is possible, but the degree is just so low; it is not that much. You know, artists, leave aside these graphic artists we have just mentioned; when they produce their art works, there are specific places where they sell them. It can be along the streets; it can be in a few galleries we have; it can be in the cultural activities organized in the regions annually. ...So for those people who happen to come there; they get the message which the artists have intended to pass or impart to the people. So all those people who happen to pass around to see those paintings at such places; those are the people who seek for the message which the artists have intended to pass through; to impart to the people. So all those people who happen to see those paintings at such places; those are the people who can benefit from the message which the artists have intended to communicate.

So as to get a clear understanding of the views of the National Arts Council concerning the role of art and art education in Tanzania, Mwasanga is asked to respond to these questions: "So do you agree that art has a communicative role or that through art we can reach the people in Tanzania? Do you think that art works created in Tanzania do have a force in informing or educating the people? In educating people? Looking at the state of art; at the level of social economic and cultural development of Tanzanians, do you think that through art, people can be educated and made aware of certain aspects of our culture so that they can understand and act upon that culture more consciously? Mwasanga agrees with certainty. He elaborates:

> Definitely; - you are right. And from the beginning I accepted that. Only that I want to make myself clear that not all forms of art can be used in that case. That is why I am stressing that if you want the society here to understand you, do not go to abstract art. ...Realism is ideal. If you want to educate the public through art, never, never make it abstract. Because you will end up understanding the message yourself. Nobody else will understand you. We have done this several times. We have several campaigns organized in different regions. For example AIDS -HIV campaigns and all that. We have had very big exhibitions; or paintings exhibitions - but entirely centered on AIDS - HIV- educational materials... And people really understood what was being presented, or shown to them. They all got the information, because after that we carried some evaluation and really found that people positively understood what we - the artists - meant by using those posters in realistic form. ...Art can have a force, but not all types of art. Not abstract art, as far as Tanzania in concerned.

Thus, as strongly emphasized by Mwasanga, for art to assume an active role in society, a realistic style is inevitable for the Tanzanian society. But how popular in the realistic style in Tanzania? Regarding this question, Mwasanga responds:

> Yah, in Tanzania, we have all those artists. Realists; abstract painters; surrealists; some people are doing - working on surrealism. There are some naive painters and all that. We have all of them here. But most of the people (artists) here are realists.

It is emphasized by Mwasanga that many contemporary artists in Tanzania, especially painters and print makers, are realists. By "realistis" Mwasanga refers to those artists who prefer to use a form of rendering that presents the subject or content of the art composition in a more life like manner as opposed to abstract form that presents the subject matter (if any) in a rather hidden or indirect way. But this respondent's experience also indicates that the foreign buyers of art works threaten the predominance of this group of artists. Mwasanga believes that the freedom of expression of these Tanzanian artists is being swayed by the tastes of foreign buyers. Foreign buyers appear to prefer abstract art compared to realism. For instance, many of these artists tend to change their style in favor of abstract art so as to suit the tastes and preference of foreign buyers. Mwasanga does confess that even he is being affected and influenced for change by the foreign market. This official of the Tanzania Arts Council admits that his style of painting has changed with time. He openly admits that he was initially a realist painter. Eventually Mwasanga came to change his style, first through extensive reading of foreign literature on art, and also after realizing that realistic paintings were not preferred by tourists and other foreign buyers. According to Mwasanga, foreigners prefer (to buy) abstract composition and rendering of art works; be it paintings, carvings or fabric decorations. Regarding this foreign influence on the style of artists, Mwasanga narrates:

> Originally, when I started painting, I used to like realism very much. And in realism, sometimes... I think makes you produce something very very relevant to your society - the society you are living in. But after having gone through so many books about art; after having read histories of great masters like, Picasso and Rembrandt and all that, I started to have some influence from those people. I just felt probably these people were great people. So they became great people by producing their work in that manner. So I thought if I produce my work in the way they did, maybe I can also follow the same steps... You see. And slowly I found myself changing my style of painting. So you find that every artist you come across, if you get fascinated by his style, definitely that style sticks to your mind and the next time you draw, as you start working on you canvas, you automatically find yourself mixing your work with the external influence you have just had. You see? So, you always; personally, I always feel what I am doing is not enough - I must make some changes. You see? And bad enough; the most important thing, and the factor which is making us or which makes me keep on changing my way of painting is criticism from foreigners... Because you find that we make art for them. I think they have tied us in that road. Artists produce works for people from abroad to buy. Because they will keep on buying, buying, buying... So they will tell you 'What is this?'; where I come from, artists stopped producing this type of art so many years ago. So nobody is going to like this one: And then you ask; 'What do you like?' He answers 'We like abstract painting. I don't want to get the message so easily from a painting. I like abstract painting like Picasso, you see?' So when you go back home you start making some sketches of abstract art. Already you are changing. And if as an artist you have decided to live on art, and if the buyer says he can only buy abstract art, and you want to live; definitely you will switch on to abstract art. Those are the same things which have affected me...

> And that is why at present I am doing abstract art.

Noting Mwasanga's awareness of the buyer's influence, and in this case the foreign buyer, external factors are forces to reckon with. Many artists create art works to sell. In such situations, the style and quality of their work has to target the buyer's expectations. The buyer has to feel that he or she is paying for the right type of art he or she needs. The two parties, the artist's and the buyer's desires and feelings, have to converge and reach an invisible consensus. A consensus for a fair give and take. But can the artist be free to create and speak for his community? And if the main customer is the foreigner, does it really matter for the artist to paint or create art works for the society he or she lives in? Mwasanga, and in this case the National Arts Council, feel there is nothing much that they can do to rescue the Tanzanian artist from the external buyer's control. The National Arts Council can't intervene in the artist-buyer scenario, which is essentially grounded in personal gains and profitability. Regarding this situation, Mwasanga responds to the following questions: "Do you think this trend is possible to change, so that artists are not that much directly influenced by outside values? Is it possible to do so as an Arts Council? Is it possible to rescue some of the affected artists so that they can paint, draw and create independently, rather than following tastes from outside Tanzania? Is it possible, under the present situation, to safeguard these artists?" Mwasanga does stress:

> It is very difficult. It is very, very difficult. Because if the artist; the average artist makes his work in order to sell, it is very difficult to do anything. Selling means getting money to maintain the artist's family. So it is possible for the buyer to control the artist, and that is the way it is. The buyer does not influence the artist as far as the title of his work and the theme of his work is concerned. Up to now the artist is free to chose any theme he wishes, but the style is determined by the buyer. A theme which can be; which you produce in realism in Tanzania, and a theme, the same theme; if it is produced in abstract form, the one in abstract form is more likely to be sold than the one in realistic form. It is difficult. There is no way we can do. I want money; first of all, I

> want money. And my buyers will say 'Mr. Mwasanga, we like your paintings when they are done in abstract form. We are ready to buy any painting you make in abstract form.' Why the hell should I stick with realism? I need money. I want to live.

Following the above discussion, Mwasanga is asked whether it is possible to break this price tag by the National Arts Council establishing galleries of its own and buying art works or providing exhibition facilities for artists. Mwasanga is asked, "Could it help to solve the price tag syndrome, if the national Arts Council had enough funds to support the affected artists by, for instance, buying their art works or by providing them with ample exhibition facilities?" Does lack of finance in any way hinder your efforts to help these artists free themselves? Mwasanga's reaction to this question is still very negative. This National Arts Council official does not see any possible way of solving the problem. He strongly disagrees and elaborates:

> Oh no!! Mr. Mwenesi, it is not possible. It is not possible. No matter how much money the Council had; it can not do that. ...It is not possible because artists are being born always. Every day artists are being born. And there are so many existing artists. And lots of work has been produced. The Council can not buy all these works. And when an artists sells his works, his or her motive does not just end up there; at selling. For example, me; when I sell; somebody from outside buys my painting. I assume that so many people are going to see it where he is going or where she is going. And that is advertisement. You see? When somebody buys your work and he goes and puts it in a suitcase or someone locks it up somewhere, still, even if you have got your money; you will feel offended as an artist. An art work should be displayed somewhere, where people can see - and that is publicity. The Council can not do that. And that would be propaganda. Mr. Mwenesi, as far as that question is concerned, there is nothing we can do. So we leave things - let's see how things will move.

The Council openly admits that there is nothing it can do regarding the influence on artists from foreign buyers. The Council feels that any attempts to rescue the artist would be consciously engaging in fighting a losing battle. For elaboration, Mwasanga is again asked to respond to the question whether there is, at all, any such influence on Tanzanian artists who live away from cities like Dar-Es-Salaam. Artists who live in small towns and villages where tourists hardly reach. Mwasanga is asked "Now do these market forces, as you said, buying and selling of art works; an artist creating his or her work and selling to mainly foreign customers, affect art works created in communities outside cities like Dar-Es-Salaam?" In answering the question, Mwasanga gives an example of an artist who was compelled to think of changing his style so as to satisfy the preferences of foreign art buyers. Mwasanga reflects:

> Very, very much. I have a vivid example to prove that. We have some artists; many artists from upcountry, that is in the regions, who are affected. Some of them understand that paintings are going (selling) well in Dar-Es-Salaam. There is good market for them. They hear there is a gallery... Prof. Jengo sells his paintings - all of them. Mr. Mwasanga sells all of them. So most of the time you find artist from upcountry who come to Dar-Es-Salaam and try to sell art works. There is one artist who came from Tabora. He brought his paintings. They were very good paintings... But because where he comes from , he is lacking competition, he is just like, let us say a pig in a desert. He is the tallest man. So where he is, there is no competition. Whatever he makes, he seems to be great. You see? So there is even no advancement. There is no counter checking. It is not easy for the artist to see how he has advanced. There is nothing to compare. There is no comparison. There is no competition. So when this particular artist brought his work to the gallery in Dar-Es-Salaam, those people (the gallery owners) told him 'Well; you know at this place, your paintings will not sell. They can't sell!! We have the experience. We know what type of paintings will sell here. With these paintings, I am sorry; I am not saying you are bad, no; they are too realistic; you see? Look at these paintings in the gallery. Just have a look! So the chap spent up almost an hour studying those displayed works. So when he left that place he told me; "So I think there is a need for me to change this style. There is no way that I can sell my work. Imagine I can't sell in Dar-Es-Salaam! Where else am I going to sell?" Imagine; that is a very very touching experience. It is a very major influence on this artist. So when the artist left with his paintings; he left a changed man. I am sure his style must have changed right now; because he knows very well, with his way of painting, he won't sell any paintings in Dar-Es-Salaam. If he wants to sell, he must change. You see? He must change, according to the type of paintings he found there. So already, that was external influence against his will.

9.2.2 Summary

Following the discussion above, it is very clear that market forces have much to do with the style and form of art that artists chose as their manner of expression. When artists have to sell their works for a living, there is no way of avoiding the buyer's influence at the market place. Buyers are free to chose art-works that will be worth spending their money. They care the least whether the art works they purchase have themes and styles that are relevant and understandable to the community or culture of their making. What the buyer cares for is a good piece of art work that well suits his or her personal cultural bound tastes. Due to this price tag syndrome, artists are apparently fixed in a dilemma. In one way, they want to be faithful and create art works that are appropriate and understandable to their people. But on the other hand, uncompromising economic forces compel them to change and go in line with the market requirements. In this light, when art ceases to speak the language of the primary audience - the Tanzanian people - it definitely loses its basic role in society. The National Arts Council thus agrees, as Mwasanga discusses, that art has an active role in the Tanzanian society, but only when it remains relevant to the people and continues to speak a language that is understandable to them. And in this case, a realistic rendering in some contemporary Tanzanian art works could be more appropriate in terms of message communication than abstract style. In my own views, abstract rendering could still continue to make sense to the people - as it widely did so in pre - colonial Tanzanian societies - only when and in cases whereby its symbolic language is clearly known to the audience. It needs to be noted that Kundy's above observation is not in any way one sided. It is not that he does not appreciate the presence of or predominance of abstract sculptural styles in rural Tanzanian cultures. The abstract sculptural art works seen among some local communities such as the Makonde, do, as indicated above, use a symbolic language that is already known to the respective audience. These sculptures, though abstract, do act as symbols representing some spiritual figures or ideas that are well known to the people in question. In this case, then, Kundy was particularly reacting to the question of the unfamiliarity of contemporary abstract art (more specially drawing, painting, printmaking and design) to some of the Tanzanian people. To many of the Tanzanian people, the decorative aspect of art works is of less importance compared to the educative or functional role. Art works have to carry messages for people to read, understand and act upon for possible social, economic and cultural change.

9.3 The National Museum

The views of the National Museum concerning the role of art and art education in society were presented by Dr. Paul Msemwa the Director of the Tanzanian Village Museum. The Village Museum is situated along Bagamoyo road in the western out skirts of Dar-Es-salaam city. The museum is expected to be a representative of the various cultures found within Tanzania. However, due to shortage of funding and space, only a few (less than ten) ethnic groups are now represented. More expansion to represent more groups is expected to be done in the future,when conditions allow. At present, Tanzania has a total of one hundred and twenty ethnic groups. Among the ethnic groups now represented at the Village Museum are the Watindiga, the Wanyamwezi, the Wagogo and the Wachaga. Each ethnic group represented has a house typical of those found in the home area or region constructed in the museum compound. Each of these houses is equipped with almost all the typical items and utensils normally used by the respective people. Effort is also made to make areas surrounding the representative houses look similar to those found in the home areas. The museum offices, which also form part of the entrance to the main compound, are constructed using modern architectural designs. Dr. Msemwa, however, hinted that plans are underway to rebuild these offices and the main entrance to the museum using local (traditional) architectural designs. This Village Museum is a directorate under the main Tanzania National Museums establishment. The Village Museum was formed in 1996 and according to Msemwa, the principal, aims of this museum are:

> Firstly is to preserve the cultures and traditions of Tanzanians and secondly to develop the culture-especially that which is good-so that it can be able to help...the society.

9.3.1 Village Museum Artistic performances

The Village Museum's activities are centered on live presentations of typical Tanzanian cultures. This museum is located in Dar-Es-Salaam, and, as its name may indicate, is a collection of model traditional houses. These houses are built to represent Tanzanian traditional architectural designs typical to some selected Tanzanian ethnic groups, such as the Wanyamwezi, Wachaga and the Wagogo. The Village Museum has vast advantages in enhancing the study and development of Tanzanian cultures. Dr. Msemwa outlines these advantages:

> Now how do we show these or how do we preserve the culture and tradition of Tanzanians? In the first place there are those techniques of building and constructing traditional houses. In making sure that these techniques are developed and made adaptable with current communities-to suit the environments in which these communities are found; it is essential for us to show them at the Village Museum and explain to the people as to why this is good. Why this architectural design was being used by such and such people; and why the same architectural design can be developed and used in a similar way. The main factor that we observe is as to how did these societies (traditional societies) relate their architectural designs with the environment in which they lived. Because everything that they built (constructed) was closely related to the constraints that these societies faced and which they were bound to solve. ...The other thing, apart from relating the environment and the suitability of architectural designs or how architecture is affected by the environment - is how the space inside the individual houses was used. That is important because the way or the manner in which the house is used contributes toward the construction of a particular behavior of the user or

> inhabitants. The way a house is used adds to the type of personality the inhabitants present to the other people. ...The other thing is: What do we do in informing the society of today about these cultural factors related to housing design and construction in respect to the environment.?

As the above outline concerning the role of the Village Museum indicates, this is a place where some meaningful study of the cultures and traditions of the Tanzanian people can be undertaken. Even though the museum establishment itself is a Western cultural construction, it is in this case being used, in a modified way, to study local cultures and their cultural histories. Anyone who visits the Village Museum will not fail to appreciate the convincing environment created by the various traditional architectural designs and constructions. Every homestead, that is typical of a particular ethnic group, is well designed and constructed and thus assumes an outlook that instills a feeling characteristic of a real village scene. The Village Museum is so believable that it makes any visitor instantaneously feel that he or she is out of the hectic city life and right into a peaceful rural environment. The study of the cultures and traditions of particular ethnic groups is thus made possible through live performances and personifications done in and around the respective homesteads. The various artifacts made and used by particular ethnic groups are in this way seen, observed and studied live. The audience is able to experience a new and close to 'real' village life typical of the ethnic group in question. In discussing such performances, Dr. Msemwa narrates:

> This thus necessitates the use of visual aids which are immovable (not in motion). These are such as kitchen (cooking) visual aids (mafiga) that are permanently placed at one area of the house and thus identify the place as a cooking space (space for cooking). Other aids could probably be tools or utensils for fetching water (keeping water) - though such tools or utensils would be kept stagnant - not moveable. This is the first group. But this first group is normally a tradition of conventional museums, which mostly tend to put objects on display in an immovable manner. But based on my observation, after being here at the village museum, Tanzanians or Africans in general appreciate or prefer

> objects to be shown (to exist) in their natural contexts-and most particularly in motion. We have seen that people prefer to see things in motion and in their natural contexts. If it is a musical instrument - then the instrument need not be just hung for display, but rather be shown while in use by the respective society. This is the biggest attraction that tends to move most Tanzanians. In this sense, if we are exhibiting things, then these things or objects need to be shown in use in their natural contexts. If termed animals are in question then real animals need to be shown so that the viewer does get the real sense of how such animals are termed and kept in and around the house. In this way the displays become more truly and thus making the museum a real living museum as opposed to the convetional museums in cities that only show stagnant objects accompanied by an explanatory text. But in the living (movable) type of display, it is not even necessary to have an explanation. It is enough for someone to understand the living museum simply by looking at the displayed things in motion. Such displays are more explanatory and even more meaningful to the people.

But how are these performances organized, especially when considering the fact that Tanzania has more than 100 ethnic groups? Concerning this question, Dr. Msemwa elaborates:

> ...So in capitalizing in that, the management and board of the museum came to an agreement that we introduce this system that cultural celebrations of the Tanzanian people take place at the Village Museum - in a lively manner. And is done by for example selecting one ethnic group that presets itself during that particular Tanzanian cultural celebrations. This is because every ethnic group (in Tanzania) has its own culture and traditions, all of which are quite varied. ...Some of them are very good singers and good players of music instruments. Others are probably good at cooking and such things. Even in dancing, there are vast differences, from one ethnic group to another.

9.3.2 The Role of Art in Socierty

According to Dr. Msemwa's above discussion, the Village Museum considers the study of culture, of which art and artifacts are part and parcel, is best done in a life like manner. By watching live cultural performances, such as those taking place at the Village Museum, one is able to meaningfully conceptualize the use of art and artifacts in society. Art is created by man so as to enhance his or her human life. Art, as seen in service of society at the Village Museum, helps people learn from their past histories and cultural heritage. Cultural history is always essential in helping to assess the present level and direction of social economic and cultural development so as to critically plan for the future. Hence, whatever knowledge is gained by the people through watching or taking part in the Village Museum, presentations are not expected to be used blindly. The Tanzanian people's ancestors, for instance, had good reasons that made them construct their houses the way they did. These were definitely reasons that were historically developed through studying the environment and local weather changes. But then came foreign influenced architectural designs - designs that were essentially developed out of careful study of weather and climate that is in many ways dissimilar to that of Tanzania. With foreign culture, for this matter, came architectural constructions that use corrugated iron sheets. Corrugated iron sheets are some how unsuitable in steaming hot climates like many parts of Tanzania. So taking people back to their histories enables them to see what was good or useful in their past cultures and which is worth incorporating in contemporary life and living. The same goes with seeing the value of the various art products (being represented through the performances) that have with time and through relentless foreign cultural penetration been displaced by alien ones. So these performances and the learning that results is not in any way intended to lead towards a frozen kind of culture. The advantage of studying live performances so as to realize the reciprocal coexistence of art and human life is noted in Dr. Msemwa's account of one of these live cultural performances. He narrates:

> ...And for this case, in July, for three consecutive days- the 15th, 16th and 17th, the ethnic group that presented was the Wagogo people. And that was our first occasion that we did such a thing - since this was like our pilot project - to see if really, realistic observations can actually be practicable. So we did this and actually it turned to be something so special that many people attended and even the media; like newspapers and television - was much interested and made a wide coverage. The thing that was of much interest to the people who came was actually to see the Wagogo people in their real village mood. Traditional liqueur was made by the Wagogo people themselves right inside

> the Village Museum. ...They made the preparations right inside the museum. Some of the Wagogo foods were brought from Dodoma region. Foods like Mlenda and Uwele were brought by the museum people, who went to get them from the Wagogo people in Dodoma. After bringing these foods, we asked the people themselves to cook inside the Wagogo house in the Village Museum. We told them to get into the Wagogo house and see if the arrangement of the things inside were in line with the Wagogo way of living. The Wagogo people (performers) did actually make some corrections in places where they thought were not culturally right. On the side of music we were able to organize Kayamba dance. The Wagogo people were (in the presentation) dressed in their attire and thus able to present the typical Gogo cultural atmosphere. And actually this was the only occasion in the three days that we got a very big audience. So at present we are under pressure, with a great demand that such cultural occasions should continue in a regular basis. ...So the thing that really interests people is to see the Wagogo in their cultural moods. to see them relaxed, seated and drinking their traditional beer and some of them eating - while all of them involved in all sorts of conversation. Some of them would be dancing to the music, thus making the whole occasion quite convising. ...So the future to me...of museums contributing to the construction of a Tanzanian identity then lies on open air museums or what they call living museums, rather than the conventional museum which are really - they are okay; they are important in advanced-lets say applied knowledge on research and so on. But really being in touch-closely with the community-then I think the best way is to use open air museums.
>
> ...Me as an individual, I think I do agree, in a way, that the various types of artworks do create identity. They do help. People do learn and which means the art itself is very communicative. ...It is because you have never brought your kids to the Village Museum ...So that they observe the art involved in the performances - since we have these masked dancers and the like. When the kids later return home - you will see that they will start imitating to a great extent.

Dr. Msemwa agrees that art has an important role in society. He specifically points out that any work of art has to be functional. And it is only through function that art assumes value, especially in the Tanzanian context. Value in art is what is behind its creation and existence. No human being is willing to spend his or her valuable time working on something that won't eventually have valuable function. Elaborating on function Dr. Msemwa asserts that first art needs to be communicative. Socially valuable art has to have a message. It has to carry a message that is communicable within the community in question. Society has to have something to learn from art. Citing on the Wagogo performances at the Village Museum, Dr. Msemwa does contend that:

> ...So really, it is a question of really ensuring that those people responsible; people who can make decisions, really get to understand the role of art and art education in the community. Because as I have given the example of for instance the Gogo cultural day, you see how an individual is made happy due to the art he or she sees, or the way it is presented, it has a meaning. It doesn't just exist in an abstract manner; no, it is tangible; it is part and parcel of the people. So the individual spectator, on the cultural day, relaxes and enjoys and in most cases this art is communicative. It communicates so many issues. It is communicative and educative. It communicates very important messages. There is a lot of symbolism which you cant just get on that art - be it drawn or plastic which as I have said - the static art which is simply or exclusively appreciative - for its beauty and the like. But when such art is integrated; then it becomes more communicative; which becomes more I mean understandable to the public.

Dr. Msemwa is, as well, aware that there is art that can simply and exclusively be appreciative - art meant for mere display and decoration. This is especially true with Western art where by art can be so abstract that it barely carries any conceivable message or meaning. This is as well true with art that is uprooted from its contextual society; where its meaning can be comprehended. An example of this is with the vast number of African art that now sits in Western Museums; far away from its spiritual communities that created it. However this is not to say that all African or Tanzanian art is realistic. One can as well come across abstract sculptural creations in African art. But such abstract sculptures, like those of the Senufo and Fung of West Africa and to some degree those of the Makonde of Tanzania, are not devoid of meaning. Such art, as noted above, does carry spiritual meaning which is exclusively conceivable by the society of its making. At this point, while realising that some categories of art can possess invisible spiritual meanings or rather highly abstracted messages, Dr. Msemwa points out another important attribute of contemporary socially viable art. He also emphasizes that viable art always has some economic value. And such economic value usually enhances the power of this art in its contribution towards the construction of a national cultural identity. The respondent especially associates this characteristic with Tanzanian art that is meant for sale locally or abroad. On art and economic value, Dr. Msemwa relates:

> Well, I am optimistic that art in the construction of a Tanzanian identity - in the context of really bad economies and with the influence of Western sort of art type - I am still very optimistic that Tanzanian art could, I mean art in Tanzania could still be very effective in creating or building up some sort of a Tanzanian identity. The condition that, however, one thing has to be understood - at lest only when the art - this so called - the Tanzanian art - it is not also just to communicate or for enjoyment; but has also to have some returns - some economic benefits. It is. That is the only way you can make-create up the identity or a Tanzanian identity. Because people would be motivated to continue with that art. And that is the only way you can compete with whether Western art or the like. It is only when it really has tangible results - the monetary aspect - then you really can work hard towards strengthening it; and thus projecting your identity. That is the only way I can conceive it. For alternatively it may be in the context of -when people are really subjugated under this Western influence with the economies becoming very hard, then there will come a time when Tanzania will protest. And the way you can protest is through your art. ...But when the moment you find that many people, either are poverty ridden - are really under harsh conditions, then a different form of art will emerge, and that will be the form of people's protest. ...But that which I would like to happen should be in competition with the imported one. And so as to be in competition - as I say - there must be monetary gains in those who push that art - for identifying Tanzania.

On the monetary (economic value) aspect of art, Dr. Msemwa discusses that there are plans underway of attempting to establish a working link between Tanzanian artists and IKEA - Swedish designers. This link will incorporate Tanzanian art and designs in IKEA products. This respondent is optimistic that this working link will have some monetary benefits for the participating Tanzanian artists and designers while at the same time helping in protecting a Tanzanian identity abroad. Regarding this proposed joint project, he elaborates:

> ...Likewise, there is right now - I am working on a project; in a way - in which way we could cooperate together, with IKEA - Swedish designers in furniture; so as to make sure that in their furniture there is an input of Tanzanian art. That we can (I am on the research now) identify certain craft persons, and we

> will try to communicate with IKEA to see that they will utilize these craft persons to decorate some of their furniture's with a Tanzanian touch. In that way we will influence the market - world market - and create a Tanzanian identity. That is what I am working towards. That is why I am saying I am very optimistic that art can still continue to project this Tanzanian identity. But this is only when it has some economic returns.

9.3.3 The artist in society

After presenting his views concerning the role of art in society, Dr. Msemwa discusses the social obligations of the artist. He points out that the artist needs to be conscious of the role of his or her art works in society. The artist has to know how his or her art relates to social life. How does his or her work reflect the social economic and cultural realities of the society being addressed? Dr. Msemwa specifically points out that the consciousness of the communicative and economic aspects of art are prime prerequisites for any productive artist. The respondent does note that such cultural awareness of an artist needs to be learnt, cultivated and practiced early in life. Artists have to be trained in both professionalism and social economic and cultural awareness. They need to know their place and the place of their art in the community in which they live. Dr. Msemwa thus stresses that socially conscious art education has to start right from early childhood. He contends that

> ...people tend to rely on what they have learnt in schools; to apply that knowledge in the market economy so that they gain something out of what they have learnt. ...But so that this knowledge is relevant to the construction of our Tanzanian identity, it will all depend on the manner in which those students acquire their knowledge. How do teachers impart students with adequate theoretical knowledge- especially socially contextualising the art or art production. How does this particular art function in the society? Then that is the only way - even when the artist leaves a college he will definitely take time to really think of what he is creating. Even when he is, lets say, making an object for a tourist he should be able to say 'What is the history behind this particular object? What is the message behind this object?' It is not only just a piece of art. No. He should strive at informing the customer. 'What is its function? How does it reciprocate its function? In what context?' And that will even...make the customer very, very appreciative. So this contribution comes to

> have a meaning. But if you are told that it is a copy; he is an individual who simply copies his works from other peoples' works, then it becomes just an object rather than having that value which we have talked about at length. ...That so as to develop this (Tanzanian) art, it needs to have a function. And I have seen many of these foreigners; even at the Mwenge Makonde craft centre, or with the fine artists that we have. If you take the trouble of explaining to them, they become very appreciative. To explain to the buyers as to what the object is; or what is its meaning. Or when he was drawing, what was he thinking about? That is what has value in that object. In explaining, the artist might say, "Ah, when I was in the village, it was like this and this - so in this artwork I am projecting my ideas - as to what happened." So that is part of identity.

Commenting on the need to offer proper art training to Tanzanian artists, Dr. Msemwa emphasizes early childhood education. It is essential to give children ample exposure to art education. Such education needs to be properly planned, so that children, especially those interested in art, are not left unattended. It is better to give all children the chance to explore their abilities in art. In that way it will be even easier to identify the gifted and those who will be willing to pursue the art profession. Regarding this need for proper children's art education, Dr. Msemwa proclaims:

> If you want to develop a much communicative art, you have to start from the level of children. You have to start from children's level...It is to create that interest within children and you identify those who have a natural capability. But if you don't identify them, you waste their knowledge. That potentiality is wasted. But once you start early, even those who did not have interest will develop the interest. And those who already have the natural talent will make it perfect to fit with the society. But if you start late, when they are already grown up, you will have wasted some of their experience. But if it had started early - they would start early to experience it. ...I had discussions with the head of SIDA (Swedish International Development Agency) who as well showed the same concern I am raising; of really teaching these preschool kids these traditional dances, crafts, oral traditions, painting and so forth. They have to start exploring their talents early in life. ...Therefore we will have a children's (project) program. So we are just starting slowly, and we hope other people will follow if we are successful.

9.3.4 Summary

Considering the above discussion, it is clear that the National Museum understands the importance of art and art education in society. According to

Dr. Msemwa, the National Museum official, art has an important role in the social economic and cultural activities of any society. Discussing this role of art, while referring to Tanzania, Dr. Msemwa emphasizes that art has three distinct roles which are communicative, economic and decorative. The discussant continues to elaborate that socially viable art has to have a function. Its has to have a meaning. It needs to carry or portray a message that is conceivable by the society or audience for which it is intended. Through its ability to communicate messages, art is able to help in social economic and cultural development of a society. On the other hand, Dr. Msemwa points out that art needs to have an economic value. Art has to be valuable, monetary wise, an aspect which inspires the artists who create it to even work harder on its development and refinement. Art can also be attractive. This attribute is important since it both enhances the communicative role and at the same time it helps to raise the value of the art work in question. An attractive art work will move the observing audience and hence hold their senses for more concentration and understanding. An attractive work will compete well on the market and possibly sell faster. The last point that Dr. Msemwa raises is that art education needs to start early in people's lives. Proper art education has to be given to children right from kindergarten level. In doing so, children will be inspired to value art and its place and role in society. The interested children and those talented in the subject will be identified early enough for proper and meaningful exposure and development in the subject. Socially relevant art needs to be introduced and taught to children as early in their lives as possible so that they can grow and mature with it.

9.4 Nyumba ya Sanaa Art Centre and Mwenge Makonde Artists

9.4.1 Nyumba ya Sanaa

Nyumba ya Sanaa is an art centre in Dar-Es-Salaam. The name "Nyumba ya Sanaa" in Kiswahili language means "House of the Arts." The art centre is involved in the teaching or training of artists while at the same time producing and selling art works. Some of the art works on sale at the centre are created by students while the rest are bought, for resale, from other artists in Dar-Es-Salaam and up country Tanzania. Thus Nyumba ya Sanaa is an independent institution that runs itself through the sales of art works and occasional donations from well wishers.

At Nyumba ya Sanaa I was able to meet Mr. Deo Kafwa, who is the production manager. On behalf of the art centre, Deo Kafwa discusses the role of art and art education in society. According to Kafwa, Nyumba ya Sanaa does well recognize the importance of art and art education in any society. Kafwa more specifically links art and art education activities with national cultural identity construction. He points out that art works produced in Tanzania are unique and quite different from those produced in other countries. This marked difference in creativity of Tanzanian art work does help to project an identity for Tanzania, especially in foreign countries. In his opening statement, Kafwa asserts:

> Yes, I think that the role of art in Tanzania has helped very much to give identity-self identity to Tanzania. Tanzania is an African country and has to remain as Tanzania. For instance, the art of Tanzania is quite different from that of Kenya and Uganda and in this way art helps to give Tanzania its own identity. Art has well advertised Tanzanian culture through fine art and performing art and all that stuff. Many people in foreign countries now know Tanzania simply because they may have seen an artistic sculpture from the Makonde of Tanzania.

9.4.1 (i) The Social Role of Art

According to Kafwa, Nyumba ya Sanaa realizes that art has an important role in the building and projection of a Tanzanian cultural identity. In building a Tanzanian cultural identity, Kafwa maintains that art has to be created with close reference to the Tanzania social cultural and economic setting. Art has to speak for and to the people. Art has to carry and convey some meaning that is relevant to the culture of its making. In this way artists have to learn to recognize the basic-communicative-role of art in society. Artists need to create art that will target the Tanzanian audience - art that will, in the first place, appeal to the Tanzanian people, and not to the foreign buyer. Kafwa stresses that artists should not rush for art's monetary gains under the expense of ruining their creative abilities. On the role of art, Kafwa continues to relate:

> ...So this shows how the artists are talented but nobody is there to guide them ...And I think this is happening all the way down. Artists should start appreciating and defending their own ideas and feelings. But for survival reasons you can't blame much on the artists, because there is also need for survival in a way. But you know, it is a dilemma really ...Now it has been that whenever they (artists) create a work of art, they just create it for survival motives. Meaning that it has to be appreciated by the foreigner first. But ...here at Nyumba ya Sanaa we tell them: 'Appreciate your art first, and then you have to make someone appreciate. Because you are the one who created it.' But they want to create something which will appeal to the buyer outside, and this is not right as in the long run we will have a lot of cheap production.

Kafwa believes that art creativity in Tanzania is being influenced by the market system. And in this case, the notable influence is from foreign buyers. Artists have to earn a living through the sales of their art works and in this way the basic aim is for them to sell more. But so as to sell more, the artists have to well capture the tastes and preferences of their customers. And in Kafwa's experience, such customer tastes and preferences tend to greatly inspire artists to produce cheap works of art; works that are more often centered on duplication of certain popular forms of art, that seem to sell more and faster. Kafwa continues to elaborate on the effect of the art market on the social role of the art. He emphasizes that:

> ...Sculpturing or drawing, even the production of any fine piece of art work or staging of a fine play; anything which goes in art requires laborious time. Requires patience; requires a lot of experimentation and working it carefully; reasoning and going to really deep deep meaning, so that when the final job is over, it has reflected what the artist was thinking about. This is in all levels. And you could also, at the same time be producing cheap, cheap stuff, which goes along with your day to day needs. ...My experience is showing that our art work is remaining in this from. There are areas where art has been affected, but this is cheap production. Not detailed work. ...In cheap production people are just doing the same stuff. For example if an artist has seen that he has sold a painting for a high price, the law is to try to be working with the same subject because he thinks this is a source of money. This is what affects creativity. But is does not affect the basic Tanzanian work; design or painting. But it affects in a way in cheap production. ...Artists become engaged in what sells faster. And always, when you visit these artists, they start talking about what sold faster. But I tell them: Start thinking about what you worked on it and what really inspired you. I want you to tell me of the painting that you can say: - No this painting, when ever I look at it, I really feel I had done something. But don't tell me 'this painting, you know, many people like it, so I want to produce similar pieces-based on the same subject' So, I mean, this is okay for survival means but that is what I see to be affecting art creativity in Tanzania.

In discussing the same issue, Kafwa continues to show how buyers of art influence creativity. He does, in this case, narrate a rather touching story of a Makonde carver who is instructed to redo his sculpture so as to suite the likes of his foreign customer. Kafwa recounts:

> Makonde artists normally work in groups, such as those sculptors at Mwenge or elsewhere. When some of these artists see one of their colleagues has sold a piece which was unusual, with a good price, the next day everybody has done the same thing. So later on the price goes down. So this is what influences cheap production. Survival ways; hardships, economic hardships forces people to scramble for whatever they think could earn them a living. ...I will give you one example. There is a very good wood sculptor. His name is Dunstan. He had in the past made a very good wooden sculpture, and I went to speak to him concerning this art work. He had a very good story behind that carving. He had been inspired by his dreams; night dreams and then he came out and created that work. He said he dreamt of devils, who at night were trying to take his heart out, and he felt like dying. He could as well see unusual figures in the dream. He then took a piece of wood and carved out his story. So when he had sculptured this piece of work, I went to visit him. He was very happy to show me the fine wooden sculpture. After my visit, I went away, the next day a foreign customer visited his work place. He saw the sculpture. This customer looked at the art work and said: 'but the faces are very ugly!! But if you make changes and polish it nicely, I will pay you good money.' He had to polish it, though in the first place this artist had decided to leave it very

> rough, so as to depict his dreams. I went to see Dustan on the third day and found him, you know, starting to modify the art work. I said; 'Dustan, what are you doing? He happily replied; 'I have a customer.' I said, 'No!! don't do it! You told me of a good story and which was the value of the work.' Off course I said 'whatever the guy is going to pay you, we are going to pay you. We are going to pay you and I will sell this piece with your story!' And then I bought the piece and tied it with a bit of the story; and put it on display. A good collector of art; an appreciative historian saw the sculpture; liked it, and paid us two times the price. ...So this shows how talented our artists are; but nobody is there to guide them, you know. And I think this is happening all the way down. ...From the top government officials up to the level of artists and their customers. Artists should start appreciating and defending their own ideas and feelings.

Kafwa's discussion gives a hint as to what is happening to art creativity and the market system. Artists seem to be aware of the role of art in society. Artists want to reflect and depict social economic and cultural happenings in their creations, though on the other hand, market forces seem to work against such positive tendencies. Artists are expected to create art works which will have social relevance. Art works that will have meaning and function or some message to convey within the society. But artists appear to be in a dilemma. As Kafwa emphasizes, artists, as well, have to satisfy the desires, likes and feelings of their customers. And because of economic hardships that artists encounter, they seem to fall - pray to those people who have the money to pay for their 'commodity'! Artists, in this way, end up being driven and controlled by the competitive market. They, thus pay less attention to their creative role in society. This account also illustrates the dilemma facing Tanzanian art institutions like Nyumba ya Sanaa. These institutions, especially when privately owned, do not receive any financial help from the government. In this case the institutions are forced to fund themselves through sales of art works. Though this mode of raising funds appears to be exploitative to the artists, their seems to be no way out of it.

9.4.1 (ii) Art Education

Nyumba ya Sanaa realizes the inadequacy of art education provision in Tanzania. Kafwa points out that the education system does not put much emphasis on art education. Students are not given ample exposure to art. Kafwa is of the opinion that Tanzanian children need to be made aware of the importance and role of art in society - starting from early childhood. But, as seen in other discussions above, schools and colleges do not seem to regard art as important in life. Art education is taken as something of less importance and thus ends up being neglected. This negligence of the provision of adequate art education in schools is well noted by Nyumba ya Sanaa, especially in relation to their art training programs. According to Kafwa, most people who enroll at the centre for art training come with almost no basic knowledge of art. This Nyumba ya Sanaa official maintains that Tanzanian children need to be taught the importance and role of art in society. They need to be taught the basics of art, a thing which can enable them to understand and appreciate the creative role of this discipline. On art education, Kafwa asserts:

> ...When we get people enrolled for art training, here at Nyumba ya Sanaa, we are always forced to start from the basics. We can identify a lot of good talents, but when we start talking about the different techniques in art, none of them seem to follow. The trainees can't even talk about their own work. What role their work has in society. They start learning this stuff here, and that is very disappointing, because this subject is not taken seriously in schools. Art is not considered as equally important as any other subject. ...Students should have had a lot of basic techniques or basic approaches to understanding of the role of art in society. ...We have a lot of talent in our children which, unfortunately, is not being cultivated. ...We could be having a lot of living artists in this country, but so far it is quite disappointing. I must say, it is quite disappointing. ...I have a daughter, lucky enough, in primary school. When she comes back home, I say 'Can you give me your exercise books where you have done your artistic drawings?' And what she tells me is that 'You know, when, it comes to art, the teacher tells us to draw anything.' So art is taken as a part time stuff. When there is nothing to fill in then students are just told to do anything in art. ...I think we have a lot of talents, but these talents are ignored. And through this, I think, the nation as a whole - the education system, is not valuing these talents.

9.4.1 (iii) **Summary**

In Kafwa's views, art and art education are of great importance in society. Art has an essential communicative role in Tanzanian culture. But so as to be useful, art has to be created with reference to the culture of its making. Art needs to have a social function. However, the proper realization of this social objective happens to be confronted by economic constraints. Artists tend to be swayed by monetary gains which make some of them not to pay much attention on the social relevance of their art. Some artists create their art in direct response to the likes and dislikes of their customers, a thing which is hard to avoid-for survival reasons. When an artist needs money for his or her family, the first priority is to sell. Artists are in a dilemma. On art education, Kafwa strongly feels that a lot has still to be done by the nation. Art education is so neglected that students, notably in primary schools, graduate without the slightest clue on the subject. Nyumba ya Sanaa has a firm feeling that art education needs to be emphasized in all schools and colleges, together with the University of Dar-Es-Salaam.

9.4.2 (I) **Makonde Artists**

"Makonde Artists" here refers to the art of carving or sculpturing that is practiced by the Makonde people of Tanzania. The Makonde people live in both Tanzania and Mozambique. They occupy the south eastern part of Tanzania - mainly in Lindi and Mtwara regions. In Mozambique they inhabit the Cabo Delgado area, that borders with Tanzania. Makonde art, which bears its origins in ritual, spirits, and dance started getting secular in the mid 19th century, with the onset of colonialism and Christianity in this part of Africa. On pre-colonial Makonde art, Dr. Wembah-Rashid (1980) writes:

> Pre-colonial Makonde sculpture was concerned with the production of art pieces

> relevant to its society, the most remarkable and outstanding during the ceremonies in the rites of passage that admitted boys and girls into adulthood. That aspect of art was therefore essentially religious and educational or ritualistic. The Makonde made utilitarian artistic items too by carving and decorating ladles, wooden trays, wooden rims, mortars and pestles, handles of various articles and wooden combs to list only a few. They also made articles associated with social stratification, e.g.: the carriatid stool, the walking stick, the fly whisk and the water (or bubble-hubble) smoking pipe - all used be elders of the people. For bodily decoration there were items such as lip plugs especially for women and ivory or wooden bracelets.
>
> Occasionally Makonde sculptors carved figures such as birds, reptiles and various other creatures. Some of these items were placed on house tops or on some posts in their compounds. Sometimes these figurines were incorporated into house-hold furniture, utensils and tools. Their functions seem to have been both religious and secular. In one case they served the purpose of warding off evil, in another they attracted luck or boosted the morale to work harder, thus symbolizing power and authority. Otherwise they were means of beautification. (p. 35)

The incoming Christian missionaries noticed the potential in Makonde artists and immediately started using them in illustrating the word of God. Due to the good work that these artists did on church illustrations, other foreign nationals and more specifically colonial administrators and settlers realized the quality of Makonde art. This realization of Makonde artistic talent prompted many foreigners to start buying Makonde art works. With the motivation from monetary gains, many sculptors started carving artworks for sale, a practice which has continued to the present day. Dr. Wembah-Rashid (1980) discusses the effects of colonialism and Christianity on Makonde art.

> The Portuguese colonialization of Mozambique included efforts to Christianize the people through the Catholic church. By mid-19th century mission stations established in Mozambique were introducing a number of industrial skills. In Cabo Delgado, the talents of Makonde sculptors were employed to replicate Christian (religious) sculpture: crucifixes, Madonnas, as well secular work e.g.: carriatid stools, staffs and masks. Often the artists were shown photographs or figurines from which to copy. Sometimes the desired pieces were merely described verbally. Occasionally the artists were allowed to make pieces of art according to their own creativity and imagination. This religious sculpture was later transformed to one of a more secular nature through the stimulus of not only church officials but also of Portuguese settlers and colonial officers. Pieces of sculpture and other carved articles were exported overseas for sale in both church and the general market. The volume of this trade greatly increased

> after the second World War. When British rule became established in Tanganyika the number of Makonde immigrants considerably increased. Both the Anglican and Catholic churches were employing Makonde sculptors in several stations in Masasi and Newala districts. The Makonde sculptors crossing the border into Tanganyika had a variety of employment choices: working with Christian missionaries, in sisal plantations or taking up petty jobs with their African hosts. (p. 35)

Makonde art continued to drift off its original, social roles. Money increasingly continued to control its production and hence its role. In search of customers, Makonde artists moved to towns and cities leaving their original local customers behind. Many such artists, migrated to large cities like Dar-Es-Salaam, where they expected to find better and more stable markets. Dr. Wembah-Rashid (1980) elaborates on this exodus:

> By the early 1950s, commercialization of Makonde sculpture had spread north as far as Dar-Es-Salaam; businessmen like Mohamed Peera were already active dealers. The artists now were collectively organized to respond to and cope with the needs of the overseas market. They were gathered into workshops where they were supplied by the dealers with wood, and tools, and they worked under factory conditions and the factory owner became the supervisor replacing the master sculptor in the apprenticeship situation. (p. 37)

As noted in the above discussion artists were now subjected to new and totally different working conditions. Apart from working under the supervision of a non-artist businessman, the now increasingly rising market demands forced artists to work under pressure. Final judgment in terms of artistic quality now moved from the artist to the non-artist businessman - supervisor. The prime aim was now to meet market demands by supplying quantity products, with no or very little attention on quality and social relevance of the art works. On this effect of commercialization, Dr. Wembah-Rashid (1980) contends:

> When the artists made goods for local consumption, their production was geared to a small, usually personalized market. This situation controlled the quantity and quality of goods. With increased international demand the artists were directed to producing goods to suit the taste and requirements (in quality, quantity and value) of the middle person - the commercial agent. The marketing process was monopolized. Mass production and commercialization

> became the logical, and legitimate response of the artists to these simple dictates of economics. (p. 37)

The commercialization of Makonde art has continued in a similar trend to the present day. Nowadays there are many open air studios or workshops of Makonde art in and around Dar-Es-Salaam. Dar-Es-Salaam has the highest concentration of such studios, many of which are situated along Bagamoya road; a road that leads to the city's beach hotels. Along this road there is Mwenge Makonde Art Centre, which happens to be the largest of such art work places in Dar-Es-Salaam. Mwenge Makonde Art Centre is an association of artists and business people, all co-existing with a common goal of producing and selling of art works. At this centre, I was able to meet and interview respondent. The interviewee, who chose to remain anonymous, gives his views on the role of art and art education in society. He gives these views in his capacity as a sculptor and businessman who has for many years marketed his own art works.

The respondent believes that art has an important role in society. He specifically points out that the art created at the centre speaks a lot concerning the Tanzanian environment and its people. Going around the centre, one sees numerous sculptural creations that portray Tanzania's rich environment and diverse culture. One comes across sculptures and other artistic creations that depict village cultural activities. Most famous of all is the Shetani theme that in a variety of forms and styles attempts to portray the spiritual life and beliefs of the Makonde. The Shetani theme attempts, in many ways to present or depict artistically the encounter between human beings and spirits. The respondent does relate that:

> Art has a major role in Tanzania and that is why our art centre has developed and flourished to this extent. Art speaks for the people about what they do in their daily activities. That is why for instance going around the centre, you can

> see many Shetani sculptures that portray Makonde peoples spiritual life. The Shetani attacks people at night and at daylight; the Shetani punishes people for evil doing and the Shetani can appear or present itself in many disguising ways and thus hard to avoid. The Shetani is a frightening creature that no body wishes to encounter. The Shetani is an evil spirit that in many ways helps to keep harmony in the Makonde society. For fear of its ruthless punishments for wrong doing, people refrain from mistreating or harming other people. The artist is thus able to explain such destructive powers of the Shetani based on description from mythology. (My own translation)

Dr. Wembah-Radish (1980) also supports what the respondent says with his thorough description of the meaning and place of the Shetani in Makonde mythology. He relates that:

> The key notion to Shetani style in Makonde sculpture was originally based on the myth that tried to explain the origin of disease and calamities in Makonde community. Oral tradition has it that such social problems came about because the ancestors were in one way or another disturbed. As a result they sent out their evil bearing messenger to punish the community. That evil-bearing was identified as *Nandeenga* . *Nandeenga* in Makonde mythology is visualized as a tall man with one leg, one eye, one arm, one nose opening and one ear. He visits villagers at night or during the day only to punish them when they anger their ancestors. At night he brings a bagful of diseases such as, measles, chicken and small pox, influenza and a host of other epidemics. In the day time *Nandeenga* appears disguised as a strong wind or hurricane to take away house roofs and small personal items of the villagers. He sometimes takes the shape of a large snake that lodges itself at strategic places to stop the villagers from obtaining essential items such as water, firewood or food. The fore going myths or call it story, is associated with pre-colonial Makonde religious beliefs. It seeks to explain the origin of disease through the relationship between the living, dead and their descendants. Later on the Makonde came into contact with Christian's, Moslem's, etc. pool of evil spirits of Satan, *shetani, jini, kinyamkela, kibwengo and mwenembago.* ---By mid 1970s *shetani* as a sculptural concept had undergone some basic changes. It was no longer seen to manifest itself in the features of a human figure only. A *shetani* now appearing as a fish, reptile, bird, mammal and insect. Currently a *shetani* is a distortion of the basic features of the five major creatures listed above to suit the sculptors perceptions. (p. 39)

On the role of art in society, the respondent continues to assert that art can not be detached from human daily living. Apart from the mystical spiritual life that art attempts to portray, there is a lot that art does in normal secular life. The interviewee continues to explain that:

> Apart from the Shetani theme, Makonde artists do as well cover (work on)

> other social themes such as depicting song and dance; Morris Nyunyusa, the blind drummer, who is able to play more than ten drums at a go; being a notable example. Artists do as well portray themes like farming; fishing; and domestic family life, with the mother and child being a good example. Another dominant theme is the family tree, which you can see here in my studio. This generally depicts the Tanzanian spirit of love, togetherness and closeness from family up to national level.
>
> In the Tanzanian society, art is also employed in the making of numerous household items. Art is, for instance, employed in the making of stools, baskets, mats and printed clothing. Here at the centre, artists do create many of these utilitarian items that are sold to both local and foreign customers. Going around the displays you can see the variety of such house hold objects, ranging from decorated gourds; decorated wooden boxes; wooden combs; candle holders up to the smallest things like wooden and stone decorative beads, earring and bangles. Important still in Makonde art, is the portrayal of Tanzania's wild life heritage. Artists at our centre portray animal life in variety and with immaculate expertise. Such wild life sculptures help in advertising Tanzania abroad, for the tourist industry. Art touches all corners of human life and nobody can deny its crucial importance. (My own translation)

After discussing the role of art in society the interviewee gives his views concerning the importance of art education. This respondent strongly believes that art has a role to play in society. He is of the opinion that through art education, people are able to learn to appreciate art. People are able to realize that art is part and parcel of human life and thus worth developing. He claims that:

> In my views, art is very important for our children. Without proper art education in schools, children grow up without realizing the broad importance of art. Our children need proper art education which can introduce them to the subject from early age. Art education can make our people realize that art is for the service of society and that through art we are able to learn more about ourselves and our culture as a whole. I have a feeling that many people see art works as mere creations without any meaning behind them. People easily appreciate the utilitarian aspect of artistic domestic items like decorated stools or decorative beads but find it difficult to realize any meaning behind a Shetani sculpture, for instance. This is when proper art education becomes important - in enlightening people of the broad cultural meaning of art. Proper art education can as well enable people to develop to become good artists. (My own translation)

9.4.2 (ii) **Summary**

Referring to the above discussion with the Mwenge Makonde Artist it is noted that artists realize the importance of our art in society. This is revealed in their artistic creations that very much relate to human cultural activities. According to the respondent and spokesman of Mwenge Makonde Art Centre, art makes life livable and it is through art that life becomes meaningful, attractive and enjoyable. Art education is as well seen to be important in any society. Through proper art education, people learn to appreciate and understand the cultural meanings embodied in art.

It is also worth noting an this point that I did not get the chance to interview Makonde artists at Mwenge as I had previously planned. I was only allowed by their constitution to hold an interview with only their Chair or Secretary.

CHAPTER TEN

Cultural Identity and Globalization

To date there is very little written about the postmodern question of art and identity or identity in general in the Tanzanian context. For this very reason, references with relatively long quotations have been made from other countries which experience similar postmodern cultural contradictions. Full emphasis of voice is therefore given to other "third world" writers who are writing about the contemporary issues relating to identity constructions in their cultures.

As noted earlier, cultures of all countries in the world are presently undergoing fast and unstoppable identity shifts resulting from appropriating foreign cultural norms and values. In this way, national cultures are progressively changing towards identity heterogeneity due to such numerous influences originating from all corners of the world. Fast advancing communication and mass media technologies are making such global cultural influences hardly reversible and inevitable. In Tanzania, for example, the impact of transnational cultural mixing and influencing is openly visible. Many foreign cultural products reaching Tanzania via the media, tourism, trade, foreign service personnel etc. are increasingly intermixing with local cultural products. The result is that local cultural identities which in the past used to be more or less homogenous, such as those relating to particular social groups or communities, are now fast fading out. In their place, hybridic cocktails of cultural norms and values are being formed. These are values that are neither local nor foreign, but a mixture of the two. Even though these new and shifting identities are more visible among the younger generations as compared to older people, the trend is that the wave of change is touching every age group.

A noticeable example can be seen among children. In the past, when I was young, children's play used to be localised. Most of the games, songs and dances that always accompanied play were essentially based on and derived from the community's cultural history. But nowadays it is quite common to see children at play mixing games, songs and dances from various cultures, some of which are foreign to Tanzania. Children are frequently seen imitating famous TV and cinema personalities like Bruce Lee, Vandame, Arnold Schwartzenegger and the various Mutant Ninja characters. Children freely shift between (or mix) foreign and local games, songs and dances while playing. Rustom Bharuch (1994) notes the nature of global intercultural mixing and influences when discussing issues relating to India's cultural crisis.

> At a macro level, there are two particularly dominant constructions of the Other that are determining the very process of interpreting who and where we are in India in relation to ourselves, to one another, to our communities, and to the world. One such construction of the Other, continues to be the 'developed world' as it is being propagated by the forces of globalization in the country, notably the government, through the invasion of the cable networks which have infiltrated to all parts of the country in the last few years. 'Invasion,' I stress, not 'importation': the phenomenon has been swiftly engineered, monitored, and legislated to be described in more euphemistic terms. Now, in villages which continue to be denied the basic necessities of life, it is possible to see Star TV, MTV, Zee TV, cable TV, blue movies, and Doordarshan, (the national television system which has almost consciously marginalised itself). The implications of this cultural invasion are enormous, not merely because of the grotesque disparity between the consumerist representation of 'development on television' (what is desirable) as opposed to the objective economic conditions of the vast majority of viewers (which determine what is available). At a less obvious level, this invasion of images - more often than not contextless but not value-free- is of critical significance, because, for the first time in our cultural history, we are seeing the homogenization of Western cultures into a very consolidated and alluring image of the other... (p. 6)

The fast advancement, distribution and extra efficiency of communication and mass media technology is relentlessly pulling the world together. Alien cultures are increasingly easily brought together, to a point where they have to co-exist, negotiate, influence or get influenced by something new. For this matter there appears to be a steady shift in the manner of identity construction in all nations of the postmodern world. Identity construction is progressively and at a very fast rate, changing from being a result of essentially internal, lived experience toward an internationally (globally) influenced experience. Néstor García Canclini (1994) realizes the impact of this globalization process on Latin American Culture. While discussing globalization effects on Latin American Art, he contends the following:

> The pretension of constructing national cultures, and representing them by specific iconographys is challenged in our time by the process of an economic and symbolic transnationalization. Arjun Appadurai groups these processes into five tendencies: a. the population movements of emigrants, tourists, refugees, exiles and foreign workers; b. the flows produced by technologies and transnational corporations; c. the exchanges of multinational financiers; d. the repertoires of images and information distributed throughout the planet by newspapers, magazines and television channels; e. the ideological models representative of what one might call western modernity: concepts of democracy, liberty well-being and human rights which transcend the definitions of particular identities. Taking into account the magnitude of this change, the deterritorialisation of art appears only partly the product of the market. Strictly speaking, a part is formed by a greater process of globalization of the economy, communications and cultures. Identities are constituted now not only in relation to unique territories, but in the multicultural intersection of objects, messages and people coming from diverse directions. Many Latin-American artists are participating in the elaboration of a new visual thought which corresponds to this situation. There is no single pathway for this search. (p. 143)

The effects of transnational cultural interactions don't seem to have boundaries nor are any imaginable societies in the present world likely to be spared. All countries and all peoples of the world are in varying degrees and intensity being exposed to foreign cultural influences. This triggers my memories about the recent situation in Tanzania. Tanzania presently experiencies all types of influences from foreign cultures. The present face of rural Tanzania is not the same as it was in the 1950s when I was young. During my childhood, the majority of the rural population dressed and fashioned themselves in more or less local styles. In my home town, Mpwapwa, the majority of rural people used to dress and adorn themselves in specifically local styles (refer to the previous anecdote about my mother). During my childhood, women in rural areas mostly dressed by wrapping themselves in plain loin cloths, "khangas" or "Vitenges." Nowadays the dominant fashions are already mainly foreign "designer dresses" or imitations of these. The trend is the same with men and children. Consumer habits are, as well, changing fast. Throughout rural and urban Tanzania, Coca Cola and Pepsi are already the drinks that surpass natural water in terms of soothing the body against the steaming tropical heat. Imported packaged foods are as well on the increase in stores around Dar-Es-salaam. The recent introduction of television in Tanzania is airing a good deal of foreign shows such as the soap operas and sitcoms like: *Family Matters, fresh Prince, Descends and The young and Restless,* together with many foreign movies. Video rental stores are found throughout the major towns and in Dar Es salaam itself. All in all, TV stations (ITV, DTV, CTN, ZTV), and the many video rental stores are fast gaining ground as major leaders in the importation of foreign cultural products and values.

In his analysis of the effects of external cultural influences on the Dogon people of Mali in West Africa, Paul Lane (1994), notes the impact of tourism on indigenous values and artistic traditions. In his opening remark, Lane comments:

> With the steady growth in international tourism... Most studies not only perceive tourism as an agent of social change but also consider such changes as detrimental. While such sentiments are understandable, they also lead to

> specific analytical perspective that I wish to take issue with here. The problem, it would appear, lies in our attitudes toward material goods, which in certain contexts are viewed as an index of prosperity and well being, and in others as signs of cultural debasement (Douglas 1982: 16). Typically, the growing preference for goods of industrial rather than indigenous manufacture, the adoption of new artistic and cultural practices, and the growth of a waged economy in small-scale societies have all been treated as part of a more general process of 'Westernisation.' Indeed, as elsewhere, many of these features, are more prominent now in Dogon society than when anthropology work began in the Sanga region of Mali during the 1930s. (p. 66)

The effects of extensive proliferation of information systems touches all ages of human life. Children throughout the world are becoming direct targets of the mass media and more particularly television and video. Through television and video children are being seduced to assume specific tastes, desires and preferences of alien and local industrial consumer goods. It is observed that such product promotional tactics win the consent of many children and thus have marked effects on children's identity construction. Stephen Kline, (1995), discusses how children's culture is getting internationalized through foreign cultural influence. He emphasizes the following:

> Commercialization of children's television and the prevalence of children's promotional marketing campaigns appear to be unstoppable global trends threatening 'convergent commonalties' in children's socialization through the realm of play. The significance of increased toy promotions on television may go deeper than the child's simple preferences for particular brands of toys though. Children have been observed in many countries utilizing and taking on the characters and themes of these television programs - acting them out in their pretend play and using these themes in their stories and conversations. This is why a number of commentators have now become concerned not only about the toys and their content, but the style and structure of imaginary play exhibited by children playing with those heavily promoted television toys; play that appears to be more gender - specific, more ritualistic, more restrictive and less truly imaginative... These same issues have been raised by a recent Norwegian study where the television promotion of character toys is seemingly having an effect on how children play (Bjornebekk, 1992).
>
> ...The expanding global reach of children's promotions marketing has not been left unchallenged around the globe. In 1989, Quebec had its ban on children's television advertising upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada on grounds that children were being subjected to undue persuasion. Indonesia saw fit to take a stand against the Teenage Ninja Turtle movie because it seemed

> unsuitable for children. Meanwhile, Nordic parents are debating whether their children's first exposure to commercial television will undermine their active outdoor traditions and wholesome values; French parents are concerned about their kid's infatuation with Disney frivolity while their toy industry lies decimated by American imports; and Japanese parents feel openly that their kids are growing fat and spotty on hamburgers and sweets while obsessive about video games. This leads us back to the question of what lies ahead in children's socialization. As the above reflection on children's toys indicates, the gravitation towards cultural convergence may have more to do with the growth of marketing - linked media practices than with the autonomous play values of child consumers. (pp. 125 - 126)

This global impact of transnational toy promotion is not yet felt in Tanzania. Media influence on Tanzania's children is only felt with some impact in other areas such as martial arts, music, dance and fashion. Nowadays, children are much more informed, happy and at ease in dancing the rap or pop and reggae than any of their traditional dances. The various TV stations in Tanzania, (in 1994, when I was in Tanzania doing this research), were showing more foreign than local music . In this way, TV is undoubtedly becoming a major tool of influence in children's identity construction.

The impact of the media on people's social economic and cultural lives is likewise noted by Alison Lewis (1995). Lewis brings to light the effects of communication technology on the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) people's social lives. The writer discusses this impact of information technology by pointing out the possible effects of computers and television on the stability of family ties. Lewis asserts that:

> Similarly, the emotional 'autism' caused by the proliferation of computers and television in the West are made to seem a far greater evil than the prohibition on western television in the GDR. Like consumerism, the mass media in the West held responsible for an array of social problems, particularly the loss of emotional ties in the family. Denounced as a drug and a substitute for real emotional engagement with one's family, the western media merely contribute to the all-persuasive problem of 'distraction' from the self. The vital role the West's media played for citizens of the GDR in filling in crucial information gaps is forgotten, and no attempt is made to analyze some of the dilemmas of 'information constipation' in the West. (p. 156)

The postmodern globalization process, that involves all sorts of cultural products moving to and from all corners of the world is noted to have a greater impact in developing "third World" countries. The impact in these countries is greatly felt by the imbalance in the exchange of such cultural products. These so called "third world" countries have no control over transnational communication and information systems that are in this regard, the principal carriers of cultural products. Due to lack of control or say over western imperialist dominated communication and media systems, "developing" countries are left exposed to hardly contested alien cultural influences. "Developing" countries are in this way subjected to unequal exchange of global cultural products.

Toh (1989) gives a helpful understanding of this biased use of global information systems by the imperialist world of the north. He contends that:

> The audio--visual images of South societies which enter the consciousness of ordinary citizens in the advanced industrialized or North regions of the world are principally those of unmitigated suffering and wretchedness. From famines to typhoons, from floods to drought, and from violent coups to border wars -- no matter the context, the poor majorities of the Third World are viewed at a distance as helpless 'pawns' in a global game of 'fate.' Perhaps pity is aroused, as when another famine breaks out in Ethiopia or Bangladesh is inundated by its worst floods in living memory. Or heads may shake when scenes of wart and carnage, of political crises and conflicts are beamed back almost instantaneously, reinforcing a belief that South peoples are politically 'immature' and 'incapable' of building 'civilized, democratic' societies. And when some Hollywood or other commercialized film producers find the South a convenient location, the stereotypes and caricatures of 'orientals' and other non-Caucasions often abound as in the 'Indian Jones,' 'Jewel of the Nile,' and 'Rambo' genre. (p.71).

I emphasise this point of unequal exchange in cultural products between the West and the Other because of my lived experience in both the centre and the periphery. In October 1983, I went to England for my graduate studies in design - a course which took me close to two years. During my stay there I was not able to tune to any African TV stations. The TV channels were pre-set and someone could only tune the TV to a limited range of local stations. Despite the limited access to foreign channels, news, films, and other educational materials from the rest of the West were always adequately aired. News about my home country, Tanzania or any other African country was quite unusual to be viewed on television. And even when there was news from Africa it was always brief, selective and sometimes highly distorted. In the seven years of stay in North America I have experienced a similar trend. News from African or for this matter, Tanzania, is almost impossible to get. And whenever some news about Africa is aired, it is usually specialized and specific - informing of a particular event - not centring on the various day to day social, economic and cultural issues. In 1996 Tanzania experienced a tragic ferry accident in Lake Victoria, where more than 600 people are said to have died. The only TV coverage I was able to view concerning this fatal event was by BBC and this was also very brief. *The Edmonton Journal* also did a good job of writing briefly about this ferry accident. The Massacre in Ruanda was also reported, but much too late. The only wide television coverage that Tanzania gets in North America is about its National wild life parks (Ngorongoro, Serengeti, Lake Manyara, Oldivai gorge, etc). *TLC (The Learning Channel), The Discovery Channel and the Access channel* take a wide coverage of African national wild life parks. And I think this wide coverage about national parks is done simply because of its economic and educational benefits to Western cultures. Any "third world" news or information that is of minimal or no benefit to the West is counted as unimportant. *The New African magazine,* which is distributed internationally, is also not able to cover all the important news about African countries in any of its issues. Its space is very limited. Hence, in my own view, not much is televised, or covered in newspapers and magazines concerning the African peoples themselves - to show their cultures and their identities so as to project both their problems and prosperity.

On the other hand, when someone is in Africa the TV stations are highly loaded with news and materials that originate from Western countries. All the movies that were shown on TV in 1994 were Western and East Indian. However, it was then Tanzania had just started TV stations. Maybe things will change. Such unbalanced global cultural exchange is having marked influence on cultural identity construction in Third World countries. The effect of global intercultural influence is again well-noted by Steven Kemper (1993). Kemper observes that:

> Whatever virtue there may be in treating the rise of a sense of national identity as a cumulative, reciprocal process, that perspective faces new problems in making sense of what is going on nowadays in Third World countries settings. The circumstances are different - these are most often nation-states that achieved independence at a historical moment when global system of political and economic practices was firmly in place. As the postcolonial period has developed, media have proliferated, reducing print to one technology among many. What to make of the emergence of national identity in circumstances in which the insistent presence of media seems to create a 'league of anonymous equals' in an instant? How can there be a place for human agency in a world where technology exercises such power?... Nations must always be imagined communities, and the process is always gradual and negotiated, but new circumstances shape exactly how Third World nations are being made believable... The institutionalization of the imagination as an 'organized field of social practices' rests on several historical processes, principally the explosion of new forms of communication - of which television is the most portentous and the markedly increased movement of persons and things around the word, creating diaspora, hybridization, and extraordinary changes in the character of nations. Together these forces have created a global cultural economy, organized around a few professions that now exert powerful effects at unheard-of distances - the movie, television, and music industries, transnational corporations, press and broadcast services, development agencies, non governmental organizations, and advertising business. If there are differences between the emergence of national identities in the West and the transformation that is occurring in Africa and Asia now, those differences derived from the distinctive ways that the imagination is institutionalized in these professions... These agents of belief expose individuals to form of subjectivity and desire that have referents that lack any particular geographical or historical location... Surely the predicament of culture nowadays is the simultaneous deterritorialization of some human communities and the bloody territorialization of others, the fragmentation and

> dispersion of some cultural practices along with the reification of others. The imagination as a social practice is complicit in each of these processes. (pp. 379 - 380)

While extensive transnational cultural influences are seen to be transforming national cultures towards being complex and heterogeneous, these same influences are noted to be working towards homogenizing global cultures.

Referring to the situation in Tanzania, life in rural communities and small towns is changing toward complexity. Due to increased intercultural mixing and influencing rural communities and towns are becoming constituted of people with multi and complex identities. Compared to, for instance, the 1950s when I was young and living in the rural community, the population in these areas constituted a people who were mostly from the same (local) ethnic group and who spoke a single common local language (mother tongue). Kiswahili language was popularized and made a national language after Tanzania's political independence in the early 1960s. To date the rural Tanzanian population is no longer keeping such homogeneity. The populations are composed of people who speak Kiswahili together with two or more languages belonging to other local communities or ethnic groups. This does not include people who speak languages belonging to other nationalities. The majority of Tanzanians, especially the younger generation, can understand the English language considerably well. The rural population is now complex and constitutes many people from varying ethnic groups and even other nationalities and people who are on the move, without fixed identities and domiciles. These comprise businessmen, traders and commercial agents. The consumer habits of the rural populations are likewise rapidly changing. Such habits can be observed in areas like fashion, eating and the increased use of imported products (e.g. household items or utensils) as opposed to those locally (artistically) hand made. Similar cultural influences are happening in towns and cities, though here, in a much more complex way - involving intercultural mixing that touches not only local Tanzanian cultures, but includes many other international personalities and cultural products.

As the above discussion shows, cultures of different countries are presently involved in an endless transnational cultural exchange, a trend which on the other hand, tends to make global cultures, progressively, assume homogeneity. Shohat and Stam (1994) point out the unavoidable effects of transnational cultural influences. They stress that:

> Since there can be no unproblematic recovery of national origins undefiled by alien influences, the artist in the dominated culture should not ignore the foreign presence but must swallow it, carnivalize it, recycle it for national ends, always from a position of cultural self-confidence...through the physical or spiritual commingling of self and other...and critical recycling of foreign culture. (p. 307)

Despite the unprecedented pressures of cultural influencing from the West to homogenize global cultures, efforts are still made by maginalised countries not to take such influences wholly and blindly. Not every cultural product from the West is suitable for other countries in the periphery. This critical utilization of western cultural products by other countries is exemplified by Shohat and Stam's above observation. However, this homogenization process of global cultures is much evident in Western cultures where there is a predominantly higher development, provision and reception of global communication and media systems. The abundance of communication and media systems in the West, coupled with advanced national economic systems quickens the cultural homogenization process.

For instance, the fashion industry, which is very much globalised, makes Western people dress in more or less similar ways. Languages like English, French, German, and Spanish are also highly internationalised, in such a way that they make Western cultural intermingling and influencing easier and more flexible. Presently the fast development of telecommunication systems such as the internet, fax, telephone and cable television make these Western cities appear much closer - like one big city. In Western cities one can almost buy any product any where and at any time - anything from food to industrial manufactured goods. Rostom Bharucha (1994) realizes the occurrence of such homogenization process in India resulting from inter and transnational cultural interactions. The writer claims that:

> Today more clearly than when I started to write about cultural representation in a spirit of liberal dissent, I would see interculturalism - the phenomenon by which diverse cultures are exchanged, transported, and appropriated across nations - as a vital component of globalisation, but also perhaps as the flipside of it. Because, if in globalisation we are seeing the homogenization of Western cultures into the other of the developed world; in interculturalism - from the politics of my location, at least - it is possible to see how non-Western cultures have been encapsulated into the alluring other of the Orient. (p. 7)

But bearing in mind that not all alien cultural products are bad or harmful, it is imperative to comment on those cultures or groups of people which wholly or partially define themselves as traditionalists, fundamentalists or essentialists of some kind. In reaction to the postmodern globalization process these cultures, such as those defining themselves as religious fundamentalists (whether Christian orthodox groups; Islamic Mojahidin or otherwise), or any of those non religious extremists but who are totally against the unprecedented impact of contemporary global cultural changes on their lives have become over defensive, almost wholly resisting any new or external influences. But is this total resistance, under postmodern conditions, in any way possible? And even if it becomes possible, is it really of any help to the culture in question towards working for meaningful social economic and cultural development. Global cultures need to share their lived experiences mutually so as to possibly move towards future meaningful development. jagodzinski (forthcoming) observes this cultural defensive tendency of some global cultures as "anti-democratic in their trajectories", as none of these extreme defensive tendencies create ample and conducive room for postmodern social economic and cultural development (through mutual sharing of global cultural products). With reference to art education and globalization jagodzinski asserts that:

> These 'impossibilities' of pluriculturalist art education reiterate the frame of the current postmoderm landscape which may be characterized as a 'dissipative structure' causing a *mise en abîme* effect of receding frames where no stable center can be found for politics of cultural identity which exists unproblematically. On the one hand the forces of globalisation and transnational capitalism tend to homogenize culture, producing a 'cultural nomadism,' a stylistic eclecticism by artist wandering on the global 'dessert' ...On the other hand the effects of such globalisation have brought about a retreat to essentialist, particularistic, ethnic and nationalist positions which are not only reactionary to the homogenizing forces of globalisation, but often present violent and uncompromising stances to maintain their cultural orthodoxy forms. The worse scenarios lead to the renewed forms of fascism and a jihad where terrorism, ethnic cleansing and *fatwas* remain the orders of the day.

It is, however, a sure thing that globalisation is overwhelming in terms of facilitating and instigating inter, intra, and transcultural influencing - influencing that is mostly dominated and engineered by the dominant Western cultures. Under such complex postmodern phenomena there are, probably, reasons (good or bad) as to why some, especially non western cultures, are becoming extra defensive in allowing for free global cultural mixing and influencing. But while being aware of such a posibility of the presence of reasons for action or reaction, it is still unrealistic and antidevelopmental for these cultures to go to the extreme. On the other hand, it needs to be closely noted that this conservative tendency towards being culturally defensive against foreign or alien influences is not in any way limited to non-western societies or more particularly to any of the religious fundamentalists with their unchangeable orthodox values and ideas. One still finds similar defensive tendencies against foreign cultural influences even in societies that might regard themselves as "long time" faithful democratic. Such an observation can be conceptualised when considering Alexander's (1987) discussion on racism, resistance and revolution. Here, Alexander discusses Margaret Thatcher's reaction against the influx of foreign nationals- immigrants whom Thatcher considers to be a threat to the 'British character.' In his discussion, Alexander quotes Thatcher and Enoch Powell's 'infamous 1968 speeches.' Enoch Powell is quoted as saying:

> My judgement then is this: the people of England will not endure [a large number of 'immigrants']. If so, it is idle to argue whether they ought or ought not to. I do not believe it is in human nature that a country, and a country such as ours, should passively watch the transformation of whole areas which at the heart of it into alien territory. (p. 46)

Thatcher's defensive ideas are not far from being similar to Powell's. She is quoted as follows:

> If we went on as we are, then by the end of the century there would be four million people of the New Commonwealth or Pakistan here. Now that is an awful lot and I think it means that people are really rather afraid that this country might be swamped by people with different culture. And, you know, the British character has done so much for democracy, for law, and done so much throughout the world, that if there is a fear that it might be swamped, people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in. (p. 47)

The above two quotations referring to and originating from the once "British Empire" that engineered the conquering, colonising, exploiting and literally owning most of the peripheral other, do strongly suggest that traditionalism, essentialism and fundamentalism is a global problem and it can not easily be associated with any particular country or culture. In this way, the understanding of any postmodern extreme, antidemocratic policies or tendencies needs to be attempted without any prejudices or ethnocentric biases. If a country like Britain, which has through history, directly or indirectly conquered and in some cases totally transformed and owned other cultures, is being so defensive, we need to be careful and democratic when accusing other cultures of being culturally protective, defensive, or fundamentalistic. Because of this global tendency towards resisting rigorous cultural changes that are brought about by the postmodern condition, the notion of Jihad has been seen to directly act in opposition to the notion of McWorld. Here, McWorld stands for all those real and imaginable postmodern socio economic and cultural forces that are out to postmodernise the world. In his introductory discussion on the question of Jihad and McWorld, Barber (1995) establishes his understanding of the postmodern relationship between Jihad and McWorld.

> The first scenario rooted in raceholds out the grim prospect of a retribalization of large swaths of humankind by war and bloodshed: a threatened balkanization of nation - states in which culture is pitted against culture, people against people, tribe against tribe, a Jihad in the name of a hundred narrowly conceived faiths against every kind of interdependence, every kind of artificial social cooperation and mutuality: against technology, against pop culture, against intergrated markets; against modernity itself as well as the future in which modernity issues. The second paints that future in shimmering pastels, a busy portrait of onrushing economic, technological, and ecological forces that demand integration and uniformity and that mesmerize peoples everywhere with fast music, fast computers, and fast food - MTV, Macintosh, and McDonald's - pressing nations into one homogenous global theme park, one McWorld tied together by communications, information, entertainment, and commerce. (p. 4)

The postmodern world, needs to be guided by democratic ideas - ideas that can problematise and put to task and to the open any inhuman differences, values and socio economic and cultural theories that go against time. Fundamentalism or traditionalism of which racism is part and parcel is quite a complex phenomenon, and thus its conceptualisation and destruction is as well complex. Balibar (1991) realises the complexities surrounding the notion of racism.

> For the destruction of the racist complex presupposes not only the revolt of its victims, but the transformation of the racists themselves and, consequently, the internal decomposition of the community created by racism. (p. 18)

The postmodern project of globalisation, cultural influencing and sharing among nations can only be possible when all cultures of the world are able to put aside their pride and racial prejudices, and honestly respect one another's cultural authenticity. It is only through such open and honest respect of one another that mutual understanding can possibly be worked upon.

10.1 The Postmodern Condition

All of the above discussed cultural influences, whether inter-cultural or intra-cultural, (happening within local cultures of nations), or transnational (happening between and among sovereign country cultures), are taking place as a result of forces present and continuously emerging or developing in a global social economic and cultural condition now generally referred to as the "postmodern condition" (Lyotard,1984). But what is actually the meaning of postmodernism? And does this condition really exist as a distinct social economic and cultural formation, different from, for instance, modernism? Is postmodernism a transition state within contemporary human social economic and cultural changes? Is postmodernism a new social economic and cultural reality that has replaced modernity? Many theorists have put forward similar questions as hereby queried by Foster Hal (1991). Foster questions the existence and possible meaning of the whole notion of postmodernism by asking:

> Postmodernism: does it exist at all and, if so, what does it mean? Is it a concept or a practice, a matter of local style or a whole new period or economic phase? What are its forms, effects, place? How are we to mark its advent? Are we truly beyond the modern, truly in (say) a post industrial age? (p. ix)

Many such questions about postmodernism have brought about heated debates among critics as to what postmodernism really is. These debates have come to suggest that postmodernism is such a highly slippery concept that it doesn't quite exclusively fit into one particular definition. Postmodernism is a broad and complex term that tends to refer to and encompass an endless list of social-economic and cultural spheres and events of our time. Foster, Hal (1991) continues to enlighten us on the type of debate over the definition of this slippery concept of postmodernism. He states in relation to the field of aesthetics:

> Some critics like Rosalind Krauss and Douglas Crimp, define postmodernism as a break with the aesthetic field of modernism. Others, like Gregory Ulmer and Edward Said engage the 'object of post-criticism' and the politics of interpretation today. Some, like Fredric Jameson and Jean Baudrillard, detail the postmodern moment as a new 'schizophrenic' mode of space and time. Others like Craig Owens and Kenneth Frampton, frame its rise in the fall of modern myths of progress and mastery. But all the critics, save Jürgen Habermas, hold this belief in common: that the project of modernity is now deeply problematic. (p. ix)

Postmodernism is a social, economic and cultural condition that influences all spheres of human life. But despite living in it, this same condition is quite unclear in peoples' understanding. The mystification in the understanding of postmodernism is apparently brought about because this condition happens to touch almost all spheres of human life. In this case different people from different cultures and nationalities have come up with varying and sometimes highly contradictory interpretations of this postmodern condition. It would however be unrealistic, and unfaithful academically, to expect theorists, critics, connoisseurs and committed educators who possess dissimilar histories and come from varying social economic and cultural backgrounds and *experiences* to come up with same interpretations of the condition. And it would be unfair and nonacademic to project some interpretations as superior to others, and attempt to force the rest 'inferior ones' to be submissive to those celebrated as "superior." In similar debates for the search of a possible understanding of what postmodernism entails, Rust (1991) also outlines what appears to be understood as postmodernism. Rust asserts:

> The current postmodern movement appears to have gelled into two major orientations. Some claim that the term 'postmodernism' is a periodization concept in that it refers to a new era, quite distinct from the modern age and a new economic order. Others claim postmodernism does not represent a sharp break in Western political and cultural life but that it represents yet another style of discourse and a theoretical orientations that abound in the modern world. (pp. 611-612)

Generally, postmodernism can be regarded as an era in the making and incomplete, resulting from the weakening of a fixed epistemology. Postmodernism is thus seen as an on-going struggle for the break from the social economic and cultural traditions that have been linked with modernism. Postmodernism, for instance, vigorously questions the viability of the various grand theories that have for long been governing the body of knowledge. In this regard, many critics and theorists consider that modernism, including its accompanying grand theories and traditions, started being actively questioned for their viability sometime in the 1960s. Habermas (1991), discusses the aging of modernity in relation to the field of aesthetics.

Habermas relates that this notion of modernity in relation to aesthetics has recently started to age.

Rust (1991), again links the early signs of active presence of postmodernism with the 1960s. He points out examples of contradictions which arose in various institutions, that are seen to have been linked with the onset of postmodernism.

> Most proponents of periodization identify the 1960s as the time when modernism and modernity began to falter and a new international order began to take form. Manifestations of this new order were found in the student movement, the Green Revolution, the computer age, the new consumerism, and multinational capital, which suggested to many that the late modern age had been transcended. Such claim ought to concern comparativists because our theoretical world has been structured around modernity and modernization. In fact, scholars such as Gail Kelly, Philip Altbach, and Robert Arnove have stressed that 'the major theoretical framework informing research in Comparative Education during the 1960s and early 1970s was that of modernism.' (p. 612)

The 1960s was a period when modernism approached or started the approach of reaching a state of developmental catharsis. Weaknesses linked with modernity started being apparent, thus giving rise to contradictions that could no longer be successfully suppressed. In the case of Africa and Tanzania, particularly the late 1950s and the early 1960s, was a time when the struggle for the decolonization of the African continent intensified. It was during this time (1961) that Tanzania achieved political independence from the British. Other African countries (and those off the African coast) achieved their independence as well. [1] By this time, critics and theorists, including the common people started critically questioning the authenticity of various grand theories which were then believed to be indispensable and capable of broad-transnational-transcultural applications.

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[1] Other countries that achieved political independence during this crucial time are Kenya (1963), Uganda (1962), Zambia (1964), Zaire (1960), Malawi (1964), Ghana (1957), Niger (1960), Nigeria (1960), Rwanda (1962), Burundi (1962), Cameroon (1960), Burkina Faso (1960), Botswana (1966), Benin (1960), Central African Republic (1960); Chad (1960), Cote d'Ivoire - Ivory Coast (1960), Equatorial Guinea (1968), Gabon (1960), Gambia (1965), Guniea (1958), Lesotho (1966), Mali (1960), Madagascar (1960), Mauritania (1960), Morocco (1956), Senegal (1960), Tunisia (1956). (The Almanac, 1991).

It is a present trend, that modernism is under fierce attack. Postmodernists are launching relentless criticism against modernism's long standing ethos, such as totalitarian beliefs in universal truths and its notions of "high" and "inferior" cultures. Modernism is blamed for openly spearheading global domination of the other by the super powers - through capitalism, neo-colonialism and media infiltration. Despite such extensive confrontations, one still finds people who prefer to present a much more critical view of both modernism and postmodernism. Some scientists hold that modernism has had many unfavorable working beliefs and ethos, but this, to them, does not warrant its total disregard and merciless condemnation. Others have opinions that modernism has had both good and bad effects on human social economic and cultural development. On the other hand some theorists and critics prefer to applaud postmodernism with notable caution. Habermas, Jürgen (1991) in The Anti-Aesthetics (Essays in Postmodern Culture): Modernity - An Incomplete Project: Shows his skeptical view of postmodernism. Here, Habermas, shows his doubts concerning the postmodern condition by posing questions regarding its authenticity in certain spheres of human activity. In this regard Habermas questions how norms can come about in postmodern societies that will limit libertinism and bring back the moral values of "discipline and work" together with the urge for "individual competition for achievement"

Participating in the same debate of the modernism/postmodernism dichotomy Hall, (1996) maintains that modernisn need not be simply rebuked and thrown away unceremoniously. Hall is of the opinion that many modern critical theories are still potent and can continue to be applicable in our contemporary societies, only with the necessary and relevant modifications. Hall stresses that if theories can be understood as consisting of open ended paradigms and hence capable of incorporating modifications based on historical social economic cultural changes, then there is no sense in expecting them to die without viable inapplicability. The writer is thus quite skeptical in supporting hardline postmodernists, whom he says need to be more critical in their judgements so that they are not superficially overdriven to overlook the potentialities of the modern project. Hall contends:

> Now... postmodernism ...does not mean that this constitutes an entirely new epoch or that we don't have any tools to comprehend the main trends in contemporary culture, so all we can do is to lie back and love it. I don't feel that those things which people are pointing to in postmodernism so entirely outrun our critical theories as to render those theories irrelevant. The problem is that it is assumed that theory consists of a series of closed paradigms. If paradigms are closed, of course, new phenomena will be quite difficult to interpret, because they depend on new historical conditions and incorporate novel discursive elements. But if we understand theorizing as the capacity of subjects to reposition themselves differently, then you needn't be so defeated... Only those who speak of 'culture' abstracted from its material, technical and economic conditions of existence could hold such a position. I think a postmodernist would be likely to see my response as too complacent, and perhaps that's what you mean by characterizing me as a modernist. I admit to being a modernist, in the sense that I find the early stages of the modernist project - when it is breaking through, historically, aesthetically, when it is all happening at once – the moments of Braque, Picasso, Joyce, Klee, the Bauhaus, Brecht, Heartfield, Surrealism and Dada – to be one of the most fantastically exciting intellectual moments in the twentieth-century history. (pp. 138-139)

It appears to me that Hall views postmodernism as a social economic and cultural condition that is presently in transition. If we see postmodernism as being in transition, then we need to expect the modern condition to also be presently in existence. I personally view postmodernism as a condition in transition. Postmodernism is a social economic and cultural condition that is already actively involved in critical rethinking and dismantling of the various doctrines, beliefs and tenets that have come into existence through modernity.

This critical rethinking and dismantling helps us to carefully examine and reexamine what is or what was within modernism that no longer goes in line with the expectations and realities of contemporary intercultural and transcultural living. Such contemporary critical thinking and action does not necessarily rule out everything about and within modernity as sheer rubbish. There is a lot within modernity that needs carrying forward, but only with the necessary careful and critical modifications. For instance, modern understandings of family systems as related to marriage and the upbringing of children need not simply be regarded as outmoded without being analysed and the good things incorporated in strengthening our postmodern families. The modern theories related to teaching and learning also still have a lot to offer concerning the understanding of contemporary educational systems so as to enhance children's performance in schools. Mclaren (1995), also sees postmodernism as a welcome substitute for the aging modernist project. Mclaren views postmodernism as a condition that is capable of transforming and breaking open the various boundaries within social theory discourse that have been purposefully constructed through time. The author projects the postmodern condition's agency of crashing open the boundaries within discourse that is based on race, class, and gender, so that there can be mutual cultural cross overs and free play within global social economic and cultural discourse. Mclaren propounds:

> In this 'postmodern' climate, educators need to ask themselves: What is the task of cultural retrieval in an age of shifting cultural borders, the upmooring of traditional cultural symbols, the blurring of metaphorical crossover of subject positions over dominant discursive regimes, the breaking apart of desire with respect to the formation of cultural otherness which we have created? ...how can critical educators begin to map the question of agency across the various relations of class, gender, and race, history and ideological production in the form of popular memory and narrative forms? ...Postmodernist social theory, as I am describing it, is an effort to reterritorialize the field of social theory through an appropriation of various discursive strategies designed to make sense, and ultimately transform, the social and semiotic contours of what has

> been described as the "end of modernity' or, as some prefer to call it 'postmodern culture.'" (p. 181)

Taking part in the modernism/postmodernism debate, Mercer (1990), does not denounce the postmodern project, but goes on to point out and emphasise that postmodernism does not hold to a universal meaning, and that it tends to mean different things to different people. Mercer reiterates to understand postmodernism as a condition resulting from the weakening and gradual collapse of the Western Enlightenment, including its accompanying master narratives – a situation that is making it difficult for people to continue believing in the foundations and viability of the modern project. Mercer analytically relates:

> As a bestseller ideology in artistic and intellectual circles the postmodern paradigm has been and gone, but as a pervasive sensibility in everyday life its smelly ideological effect lingers on. Postmodernism means many different things to many different people, ...In philosophical terms, postmodernism has been discussed as a weakening, fading or relativisation of the absolutist or uninversalist values of the western Enlightenment. The master narratives are collapsing, which is to say we no longer have the confidence to invest belief in the foundational myths of inevitable human rationality or social progress.
> (p. 49)

Similar to Mercer, Shohat and Stam (1994), have the opinion that postmodernism is multivocal and that its understanding needs to be culturally situated. The tendency of uncritically and baselessly universalizing the postmodern condition's understanding is unrealistic. They contend that, at a global level, various cultures are, and have been experiencing the effect of postmodernism differently.

As long as the effects of postmodernism are experienced differently in different cultural settings, I believe that its understanding and meaning needs to be grounded in and derived from the social economic and cultural conditions of countries in question. It is my thinking that Western postmodern theorists, critics, connoisseurs and educators need not unknowing or knowingly repeat the weaknesses and shortfalls within modernity that they are themselves presently denouncing!! These are weaknesses and shortfalls of attempting to universalise ways of seeing; ways of knowing; and ways of interpreting phenomena; and hence ways of believing. I am neither attempting to denounce the universal relevance of the postmodern condition, nor am I propagating ethnocentrism. It is my argument that all cultures of the world have varying historical backgrounds. It might therefore be difficult and unfair to universalise the understanding and interpretation of human problems such as those related with peace, race, gender, and class systems. It is undisputable that there are innumerable peace, race, gender, and class related problems all over the world. But this does not necessarily mean that these problems are the same in nature, in making and in magnitude in all cultures of the world. In the presence of such cultural differences, all understandings and negotiations involving cultural problems need to start from within local cultures and not from without (or from other alien cultural thinking). Such an approach will possibly avoid cultural domination suppression and mystification of the other within the so promising postmodern project.

In discussing the various versions of conceptualizing postmodernism, Shohat and Stam (1994), continue to assert while referring to the theorist Fredric Jameson:

> Like the sociology of 'modernization' and the economics of 'development', the esthetics of modernism (and of postmodernism often covertly assume a telos toward which Third World cultural practices are presumed to be evolving.) ...thus the Third World, the object of idealization in an earlier phase, becomes the object of disenchantment in a later phase. In Jameson's prose the Third World always seems to lag behind, not only economically but also culturally ...For us 'postmodernism' is not honorific, nor are Third World postmodernism

> necessarily identical to those of the First World. A more adequate formulation would see time as scrambled and palimpsestic in all the Worlds, with the premodern, the postmodern and the paramodern coexisting globally, although, the 'dominant' might vary from region to region. (pp. 292-293)

Literary, the understanding and implications of the postmodern project have to vary from culture to culture and this serves to explain the prevalence of many, varying and sometime antagonistic attempts to formulate a generalized definition of the condition. The postmodern project is a social economic and cultural condition, and it is only the culture of the place in question that can define its mode of existence and its implications on that particular cultural setting. For instance, while postmodernism could be whole heartedly viewed and accepted as a gateway towards rapid human emancipation and development in the West and for the West; in developing countries postmodernism could be skeptically viewed as a death leeway for these countries' continued domination, suppression, exploitation and expropriation of their human social economic and cultural dignity by the Western imperialist powers. Globalization, under the postmodern project, could be taken by developing countries, as sheer normalization, further homogenization and legitimization of wholesale domination of the other by the merciless West.

Sklair (1991) helps us to see how globalization tends to give room for Western imperialist powers to continue to intensify its social economic and cultural domination and exploitation of the other. Sklair discusses the activities of transnational corporations in operation in developing countries, including their hidden social economic and cultural agendas. He relates that:

> The underlying goal of keeping global capitalism on course is in constant tension with the selfish and destablizing actions of those who cannot resist system - threatening opportunities to get rich quick or to cut their losses. The institutions of the *culture-ideology of consumerism,* as expressed through the

> transitional mass media are the primary agents in the cultural-ideological sphere. ...TNCs produce commodities and the services necessary to manufacture and sell them. The transnational capitalist class produces the political environment within which the products of one country can be successfully marketed in another. The culture...ideology of consumerism produces the values and attitudes that create and sustain the need for the products. ...TNCs get involved in host country politics, and the culture-ideology of consumerism is largely promulgated through the transitional corporations involved in mass media and advertising. (p. 53)

The fact that Western economic giants, together with countries like Japan, are and will most likely continue to control the global economy is hard to dispute. These countries control the global economy, including the fast advancing communication and mass media systems. Many developing countries are, in this situation, left confined to a receiving and dependent state, where by they hardly have any say or control over the world's economy or its communication and media systems. It is hence highly questionable whether the postmodern project, together with its globalization process can ever quite create any formidable social economic, and cultural balance between the developing and the developed countries. Sklair (1991) again, in discussing the culture-ideology of consumerism in the Third World shows how US domiciled Transnational Corporations continue to dominate the rest of the world through the global capitalist system. Sklair, referring to Wells' (1972) research on the effects of television in Latin America, asserts:

> Although Japan's productivity in the automobile industry, South Korea's in the steel industry and Hong Kong's in the apparel industry may be superior to that of the United States, the total value of production of the United States is more than three times as great as its nearest challenger (Japan), about as much as the rest of the rest of the First World combined and nearly double the amount of all the economics of the Third World! ...Wells' own substantive research, on the effects of television in Latin America, documents, not surprisingly, that the United States is a strong influence for consumerism and a very weak influence for producerism in Latin American television. ...The specific task of the global capitalist system in the Third World is to promote consumerism among people with no regard for their own ability to produce for themselves, and with an indirect regard for their ability to pay for what they are consuming. ...called *induced wants.* (pp. 130-131)

Relating to the above, it is implicit in what has been discussed that the postmodern project is socio-economic, political and culturally bound and thus its relevance and understanding is taken differently by different people, depending upon the point and place of reference. Foreign capitalists in developing countries see the postmodern globalisation condition as directly supporting their profit making ventures, while on the other hand, this same condition is bringing even tighter cultural, economic and political control of the Third World by the imperialist West.

Referring, yet to another example, Nelly Richard (1987/1988) is among the critics who have attempted to link the understanding of the postmodern condition with the Third World social economic and cultural perspective. He relates the impact and effects of postmodernism on Latin American Countries while skeptically projecting to see advantages rather than disadvantages being brought into these developing countries in the future. This critic more specifically places emphasis on the postmodernist deconstruction of meanings. The writer stresses that more multiple meanings, which have in the past been suppressed and deliberately sidelined as meaningless and inauthentic by the Centre will have the privilege of being brought to light and most likely be heard and valued. Richard asserts that:

> ...modernity is found guilty of having destroyed the characteristics of a true Latin American identity through a conglomeration of influences which are invariably regarded as threats, falsifications, or travesties of the region's original and authentic nucleus of culture. ...What rupture does so called postmodernism imply in this set-up? ...Postmodernism states that all privileged points of view have been annulled along with the dominant position which allowed the establishment of hierarchies of interpretation. To what extent can such a critique of the unidimensionality of meaning, aim at the hegemonic system established by a self-centered culture, offer new approaches which might help the process of decolonization? This is a fundamental question raised by postmodernism in the periphery. ...By creating the possibility of a critical re-reading of modernity, postmodernism offers us the chance to reconsider all that was "left unsaid" and to inject its areas of opacity and resistance with the potential for new, as yet undiscovered, meanings. (pp. 9-12)

Concluding from the above discussion, it is seen that the understanding of the nature and effects of the postmodern condition can not be the same in all countries of the world. The postmodern project needs to be conceptualized in relation to particular social economic and cultural settings. For instance, the nature and cultural impact of postmodernism on countries in the West can not be the same as in Third World countries. In the imperialist West and countries like Japan, postmodernism and its globalization process is primarily taken as a rapid opening for global communication networks that can very well speed up their economic, political and cultural superiority over the other. In developing countries, the postmodern condition is eagerly awaited as a potential leeway towards their de-neo-colonisation and eventual emancipation from imperialist tentacles.

The search for multiple interpretations of meanings in the field of knowledge and learning is predominant within the postmodern project. Modernism has always favored western versions of interpretations of meaning in knowledge and learning as being the only authentic ones in the universe. Postmodernism, thus, can be taken as a rescue for the once suppressed alternative meanings and interpretations from and for the peripheral Other. The centre is, in this case, to be forced into submission through negotiated discourse - to submit that knowledge seeking and knowledge acquisition is supposed to be open ended, to allow for inputs and criticism from all corners and spheres of human life. Openness in multiple interpretations for meanings will not only be of benefit at the transnational level, since various previously marginalized and suppressed individual groups inside both the centre and periphery stand to gain. Multiple interpretations of meanings will possibly benefit groups like children, women and visible minorities living in diasporas. However, the presence of multiple interpretations will not necessarily be of benefit to the Other unless such alternative meanings are properly given the relevant audience, heard, valued and subsequently put into use. Thus whether or not the Other is going to gain any substantial benefit from the postmodern project remains to be seen. Time remains to be the best judge of such outcomes.

10.2 Identity in Postmodern Politics

From our understanding of postmodernism, it is now worth considering how identity and identity construction are visualized in contemporary societies. Drawing from the previous introductory discussion on identity, I would start first, by examining how identity is perceived within the politics of postmodernism and then proceed with the problem of identity construction.

Generally speaking, postmodernism and the globalization process give rise to the formation of multicultural societies in all countries of the world. The process of cultural mixing takes place globally, even though the speed, extent, and impact of this mixing varies from country to country, and from place to place within individual countries. The postmodern understanding of the notion of identity pays close attention to the co-existence and continuous formation of many cultures, and not in reference to one dominant culture that is presupposed to stand as a model for other, and in this case, "undignified, inferior cultures." Under postmodern politics, cultural identities of societies or communities result from the intermixtures of constitutive identities of the various sub-cultures existing within and without any place in question. Richard (1987/88) presents a postmodern understanding of identity in relation to contemporary Latin American societies. Richard asserts that the present global review of modernity allows for a rethinking of the Latin American identity - identity "of individuals born of and into dialectic mixture of the different languages surrounding us..." Richard continues to relate that this is an identity that is unstable and continuously under formation and reformation as a result of global exchange of cultural products. On the manner of use of imported cultural products Richard emphasises that:

> Innovative responses to these materials are based on strategies of redetermining the use of fragments or remains in ways which differ from their original frame of reference. Perhaps our Latin American identity, seen from the perspective of the postmodernist 'collage' is no more than a rhetorical exerbation of the strategies of decentralization and re-adaptation. The periphery has always made its mark on the series of statements emitted by the dominant culture and has recycled them in different contexts in such a way that the original systemizations are subverted, and their claim to universality is undermined. (p. 12)

In the postmodern context, identity is seen as a result of borrowing, mixing and reusing of cultural products from other, co-existing or distant cultures. Postmodernism gives room and access to other cultural products, some or many of which were unthinkable to come in contact with before the present proliferation of mass media and communication systems. Kologne (1993) reminds us as to how the identity question in postcolonial countries needs to be looked at. Kologne does emphasize that identies in these postcolonial countries have been and are still being heavily influenced by external cultures. It is thus imperative, Kologne stresses, that the identities in these countries should, among other ways, be considered in terms of the specific colonial dominance under which these individual countries were. Kologne points out:

> It is evident that these is no common denominator as to what really constitutes an 'authentic' African expression. In the 19th century Africa experienced an unprecedented wave of invasions orchestrated by West European powers, The

> objective of expansionist strategy was to subdivide the continent into various colonies. Christian missions from various European countries also embarked on the process of converting communities by offering salvation through the Bible. There communities were discouraged from their original forms of worship and ritual. The majority of countries in Southern Africa such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa were at one point under British colonial rule whilst others such as Angola and Mozambique fell under Portuguese rule. This is evident therefore that the problem of identity will to a large extent be determined by the specific type of colonial domination in a country (p. 99)

Fanon (1967) underlines the great impact of colonial powers and their cultural influences over the Other by observing that colonialism has acted upon the "Negro" to a point that he is seen to have "no culture, no civilisation, no 'long historical past.'" Fanon continues to observe that this could be force behind contemporary "Negro" struggle for liberation from Western oppression, "to prove the existence of a black civilization to the white world at all costs."

Whereas the colonial and missionary cultural influences were more a result of deliberate direct and indirect force for the colonized to relinguish their cultural heritage and assume the imposed alien ones, postmodernism stresses the free play of inter and intra cultural influencing. Postmodernism assumes that the globalization process recognizes no boundaries between and within cultures. Global cultures are increasingly and easily coming together to learn and influence one another. In this sense, the modernist division between superior and inferior cultures is increasingly becoming nullified. Under postmodernism, all cultures are valued, respected and taken to be authentic in themselves. All cultures are now assumed to be valuable and authentic, identity and identity construction ceases to be rigid. Identity is now seen as a consequence of free (selective) borrowing and manipulation of cultural products, a process which is said to give rise to montage and hybridisation. Roberts (1994) in discussing contemporary East Indian art shows how cultural identity is presently understood. Roberts contends that much of recent discourse on culture has adopted a "model of cultural identity as double-coded: neither this nor that" and this has resulted in new lines of politics of "montage and hybridisation" Roberts elaborates on this type of identity politics:

> In the best writing this is not a politics of assimilation, but a recognition that there are no priviledged spaces or symbolic resources that might secure cultural autonomy. In the pursuit of a non-racist culture the assertion of identity is a matter of political contingency and not ontology. ...For the contemporary 'Third World' artist, though, these associations would seem to be relatively new, in so far as what Sundaram registers is a greater willingness on the part of the Indian artist to distance himself or herself from positivism of national identity. Sundaram wants to make clear that all places of occupation for the Indian artist have been lacking and therefore that identities are to be *passsed through*, to be reassembled and rewritten in the light of changing circumstances. (pp. 33-34)

As Roberts points out, the rapid global changes being presently witnessed in all spheres of life necessitates a shift in peoples understanding of the whole question of culture. The issue of identity and identity construction is no longer stable but in crisis and its existence being heavily questioned. In his discussion, Roberts shows that many contemporary writers treat cultural identity as 'double-coded' implying that identity is no longer unilateral, fixed to specific non-changing modes of understanding or points of reference. Cultural identity, under the postmodern condition is open ended and continually shifting in response to new inputs and outputs (rejections) of both, local and alien cultural products. When examining Sundaram, the East Indian artist's work, Roberts mentions the pursuit of 'non-racist' culture by artists like Sundaram. But what is non-racist culture? This, in a sense, becomes a viable question when asked in relation to Third World countries, countries that are economically weaker compared to the Western World. Economic weakness subjects Third World countries under indisputable

Western Imperialist domination. This economic domination by the West, likewise creates ample room for systematic cultural and political oppression of the economically weak Third World countries. How can Third World countries, like India or many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, achieve a non-racist construction of cultural identity when these same countries day and night are getting bombarded with Western oriented cultural products? Are these poor countries, knowingly or unknowingly, not engaged in systematically constructing cultural identities that undoubtedly shift towards a future unbalanced, Western oriented hybridity? Cultural identities in Third World countries are certainly changing, but this change could most likely be more assimilative than free balanced sharing - in the long run. How can poor countries, countries that hardly have any control or substantial share over the global economy, mass media and communication networks exercise some balanced cultural sharing with the economic super power countries? I have a feeling that the economically weaker countries, especially those in the Third World, are doomed to future cultural assimilation with the economic giant countries unless serious and cautious consideration is made on the long term advantages and disadvantages of contemporary global cultural influencing and its relation to the overpowering imperialist West .

This trend is a postmodern phenomenon and thus hard to resist. It is' therefore, up to individual countries to see how much effect this postmodern phenomenon has on their future cultural identities. Postmodern times are free play times. But how much freedom is freedom outside the snare of systematic enslavement by Western cultural imperialism? Is it a Western oriented global culture that is in store for the rest of the world?

The pursuit of what Roberts (1994) refers to as "non-racist" identity is welcome and not a bad idea at all, but it needs to be carefully observed, especially when referring to Third World and other marginalized communities and groups of people at the centre. The realisation of a "non-racist" identity loudly calls for the active participation of people who can duly recognize the possible presence of unsuitable intentions or hidden agendas, embodied within inter and intra cultural influencing. Cultural identity construction involves the development of one's culture based on both reading from the past and the present, while projecting and relating to possible happenings in the future. The marginalised people of the world, those who for a long time have been exploited, suppressed and regarded by dominant cultures inferior and possessing no authentic cultures need to study their past histories so as to re-discover themselves.

Fanon (1967) informs us of this long term disregard of the Other, which has its roots right from colonial times. Fanon stresses that the inferiority complex so far predominant within the Other was purposefully constructed by the colonizers.

> The feeling of inferiority of the colonized is the correlative to the European's feeling of superiority. Let us have the courage to say it outright: It is the racist who creates his inferior. (p. 93)

Fanon goes on to cite some examples that exemplify these attitudes of the colonizer over the colonized. He asserts that during colonial times there were misconceptions within the "superior" white population that:

> 'Negroes are savages, brutes, illiterates.' But in my own case I knew that these statements were false. There was a myth of the Negro that had to be destroyed at all costs. (p. 117)

Similar trends are still happening today. The imperialist West is still projecting itself as superior to the periphery Other and this is apparently possible, among other things, due to the long lasting after effects of both physical and mental colonization that was inflicted over the dominated people. No viable identity construction of the Other in relation to the West can be possible without successfully freeing "Third World" peoples from such Western oriented inferiority complexes. People from the periphery need to rediscover their deserved places and authenticities within contemporary global identity politics. In this regard, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1987) calls for Third World cultures to "de-colonize" their minds through, among other things, closely studying and knowing their cultural histories. Cultural history is important in informing people in the Periphery - people who are struggling to rebuild their identities - that they, like the Centre, have had and will always have authentic cultures.

Hall (1990), shows the importance of cultural history in identity construction by referring to his own history and to the many histories of the black diaspora. Hall emphasises that history is the cornerstone in cultural identity construction of the Caribbean diasporas. In the absence of a comprehensive history, cultural identity construction becomes problematic, falsified and incomplete. Hall notes that it is the revisiting of past histories that has brought about many of the famous social movements of today - movements such as "feminist, anti-colonial and anti-racist." Cultural history forms the fulcrum of an identity. For this matter, Hall propounds:

> They do this by representing or 'figuring' Africa as the mother of these different civilizations. This triangle is, after all, 'centered' in Africa. Africa is the name of the missing term, the great aporia, which lies at the centre of our cultural identity and gives it meaning which, until recently, it lacked. No one who looks at these textual images now can fail to understand how the rift of separation, the 'loss of identity,' which has been integral to the Caribbean experience only begins to be healed when these forgotten connections are once more set in place. Such texts restore an imaginary fullness or plentitude, to set against the broken rubric of our past. They are resources of resistance and identity, with which to confront the fragmented and pathological ways in which that experience has been reconstructed within the dominant regimes of

> cinematic and visual representation of the West. (pp. 224-225)

In this way, Third World countries need not overlook their rich and health past heritage under the expense of incoming attractive, seductive and flowery alien cultural products. Cultural identity, in marginalized countries, calls for careful scrutiny and thus needs to be that which involves unconditional freedom of manipulative play in selection, incorporation or rejection of cultural products from the past and present, while being critically open for foreign influence in building for the future. But the question still lingers. Is this freedom of selection, incorporation and rejection really possible in economically, culturally and politically foreign dominated Third World countries? The possible absence of such freedom, amidst global postmodern social economic and cultural upheavals, does not, however, warrant the negation of a critical thinking of the identity politics of these marginalized countries. Hall's discussion on Caribbean identity politics continues to stress this essence of incorporating cultural heritage in identity construction. In his analysis he also presents two prevalent versions of understanding identity. Hall contends that identity construction is not a simple issue or as "transparent and unproblematic as we think". Identity construction is a highly problematic on-going process. According to Hall, identity construction is part and parcel of representation and hence it is "always constituted within, not outside, representation". Hall realises that

> There are at least two different ways of thinking about 'cultural identity' The first position defines 'cultural identity' in terms of one shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self,' hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves,' which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people' with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history. This 'oneness,' underlying all the other, more superficial

> differences, is the truth, the essence, of 'Caribbeaness,' of the black experience. It is the identity which a Caribbean or black diaspora must discover, excavate, bring to light and express through cinematic representation. Such a conception of cultural identity played a critical role in all the post colonial struggles which have so profoundly reshaped our world. (pp. 222-223)

Centering on what Hall stresses, that *cultural history* is essential in cultural identity construction, it would be unthinkable to silently sit back and watch Third World countries ceremoniously open wide their doors for unconditional foreign cultural influences while at the same time closing their eyes, ears and minds against their own fertile cultural history – under the pretext of giving room for postmodern, globalized free play of transnational cultural sharing. If the Caribbean diaspora are struggling to rekindle their past cultural heritage, Africans for that matter, need to strengthen and systematically build on what they have, that which helps to identify them as Africans. This is central to all, while at the same time opening up for outside influences. The balance between local and foreign cultural influences is however hard to realize, bearing in mind the presence of a dense inflow of global cultural influences, many of which originate from the economically strong countries. But something needs to be done.

In his discussion, Hall, (1990) goes on presenting the second version of understanding cultural identity. Hall propounds that people of any country, and for his case the Caribbean people, do possess both similarities and differences. It is these points of similarities and differences that come to form what he refers to as the "Caribbean's uniqueness" - a uniqueness that constitutes "what we really are" in other words "since history has intervened - what we have become." Identity discussions can not make much sense without making references to this uniqueness that has come about through cultural history. Hall emphasises that, so as the Caribbean people do rediscover themselves, they need to understand the essence of knowing their history. It is only history that can enable the Caribbean people to understand the "traumatic character of 'the colonial experience." Cultural identity is historical and in continuous formation. It is not something that exists independent of the culture of its making. Cultural identity construction does not in any way bypass "place, time and history." Hall precisely brings to light the importance of people, societies, or communities, looking back in their history, so as to rediscover themselves. One's cultural background or cultural history, as Hall emphasises, is the central issue in any identity politics. An identity that negates the value of its cultural history is prone to be assimilative, losing its potency or power of editing the present with reference to the past, so as to build for the future. As Hall asserts, *it is cultural history that brings forth the notion of "difference" within identity.* It is "difference"; "what we really are" and "what we have become" that creates uniqueness among the cultures of the world. Hall discusses difference in relation to the Black diaspora by pointing out that the diaspora identity is only understandable through the appreciation of the presence of heterogeneity and diversity within cultures. Hall stresses that within heterogeneity and diversity there is always difference and cultural negotiations. Identity is constructed through hybridization. Hybridization enables identities of the Caribbean diasporas to continue to produce and reproduce themselves endlessly "through transformation and difference." Hall notes that this endless construction and reconstruction of Caribbean identities brings about a "Caribbean cuisine...the aesthetics of 'cross-overs', of 'cut' and 'mix'." He describes this cuisine to be that which is "uniquely - essentially - Caribbean....the mixes of colour, pigmentation, physiognomic type, the "blends" of tastes... ." Incidentally and quite unfortunately, it is 'difference' that postmodernism is relentlessly working against. The postmodern globalization process is there to eventually homogenize global cultures, such that, at one time in the unknown future, we could find cultures of the world reaching convergence and literally attaining a lot more cultural commonalty than 'difference'.

Taking the globalization process into consideration, the question of "difference" in identity construction is not, and will not be an easy thing. The question of "difference" in identity politics is vital and crucial and need not simply be taken for granted. "Difference" needs to be systematically worked for, since there are so many cultural forces, both local and alien, that are blocking its success. The proliferation of alien cultural products into, for instance, Third World countries, are always seen to act against local cultural products and most specifically against traditional ones. By "traditional," here, I mean historical or those cultural products that have been kept and carried forward from the past. But then how is this notion of "difference" linked to the project of postmodern cultural identity construction? An understanding of cultural identity in the postmodern condition will not be clear without having a closer look at how "difference" is associated with the question of identity construction. As already noted, in postmodernism, cultural identity construction is generally assumed to be dominated by complex, ongoing free play of inter, intra and trans cultural interactions and influencing – through sharing of both local and alien cultural products. Due to this complexity of contemporary human action and interaction, the process of cultural sharing and influencing takes place in differing ways depending upon the nature of this cultural coming together. Theorists have attempted to discuss these complex ways of intra, inter and transcultural processes or ways of influencing in relation to metaphorical concepts like diversity; difference;

syncretism; and hybridity and third space, (Bhabha, 1990). My discussion of cultural identity construction, thus, attempts to trace what meanings are associated with these metaphorical concepts and why such meanings are linked to cultural identity construction.

10.3 Diversity and Difference: Hybridity and Syncretism

The postmodern condition assumably creates room for the positive recognition of diversity in all societies that populate the world. Under postmodernism, all societies are perceived to be important and authentic in their own accord. The recognition of diversity in societies or groups within societies makes it possible to appreciate the presence and value of differences that exist between and within societies or social groups. In this sense, the concepts of diversity and difference almost always appear together in discussions of postmodern identity politics. Bearing in mind that contemporary identity politics are essentially centered on the pursuit of the emancipation of marginalized countries, societies, or social groups, the positive acknowledgement of societal diversity brings forth a rethinking of the dichotomies that have for long perpetuated social injustices, oppression, domination and suppression of marginalized human beings. The positive conceptualization of diversity enables a rethinking of the differences that inhabit the buffer zones marking the dichotomies of Centre/Periphery, First World/Third World, Rich/Poor, Male/Female, Black /White, Red/White, Yellow/White etc. The awareness of diversity and difference within and between societies helps people to realize their place of existence and how that place in one way or another contributes towards their sufferings or prosperity. A rethinking of the nature of differences within social diversity makes it possible to dwell into the prevailing problems that happen to be brought about by negative ethnocentric and racist recognition of social differences. In this sense, the re-evaluation of differences within social diversity is a postmodern leeway towards human mental (psychological) and physical emancipation from oppression.

Rutherford (1990), discusses the essence of *difference* in cultural identity politics by asserting that the notion of difference within postmodern politics helps to understand what is within the other in a positive way. Rutherford uses the metaphor of *desert* by pointing out that to some people the desert could appear to be barren and lifeless, but this same desert is precious and has a lot of meaning to those people who inhabit it. The writer relates this desert metaphor to the understanding and appreciating of difference within and between cultures. Every culture is precious in its own ways, and there is always some thing worth knowing and appreciating in each one. In postmodern identity politics, the cultures of the alien Others need not be merely understood or taken for granted to be worthless. It is through positively recognising and appreciating the strengths and weaknesses of the Other that postmodern cultural identity construction becomes meaningful. Rutherford emphasises:

> The desert as a metaphor of difference speaks of the otherness of race, sex and class, whose presence and politics so deeply divide our society. It is within their polarities of white/black masculine/feminine, hetero/homosexual, where one term is always dominant and the other surbodinate, that our identities are formed. Difference in this case is always perceived as the effect of the other. But a cultural politics that can address difference offers a way of breaking these hierarchies and dismantling this language of polarity and its material structures of inequality and discrimination. We can use the word difference as a motif for that uprooting of certainty. It represents an experience of change, transformation and hybridity... (pp. 9-10)

Reading from Rutherford, the appreciation of what is within difference acts as a torch that, in total darkness, lights and directs our eyes towards our comprehension and recognition of the cultural authenticities of ourselves and the others. Thus cultural identity re-construction, which is always an ongoing process, happens in the course of someone; some society or some social group realizing what is missing in self; that which is within the other and which can critically be borrowed as a contribution or supplementation of someone's own. Cultural identity construction involves the activities of an open mind – a sober and sane mind that is not duly impregnated with the seeds of ethnocentrism, racism or class consciousness.

In examining the place of difference in contemporary cultural identity politics, jagodzinski, (1997), points out how difference has become central in understanding cultural identity issues. Referring to Stuart Hall, jagodzinski contends that comprehending what is within the differences between cultures makes it possible to appreciate what is valuable from cultures other than one's own. Through positively perceiving what is new and valuable from other cultures and critically relating this to one's own – positive appreciation of difference – has brought about the conceptualization of cultural identities that are 'double-coded'. That means there are no cultures that are seen as more authentic than others. Such realization of cultural identity brings about spaces for negotiation in the process of cultural identity construction. jagodzinski asserts that:

> As Hall (1988) summarized that struggle: relations of representation have been challenged by first, an *access* to the rights to representation by black artists and cultural workers themselves and second, through the *contestation* of the marginality, the stereotypical quality and the fetishied nature of images of blacks by counter position of a 'positive black imagery.' (p 28) A good deal of recent cultural theory has therefore adopted a model of cultural identity that is double-coded: neither this nor that, but this and that. The result has been working up new versions of a politics of montage and hybridization in which the sense of the oppositional artist as being 'outside' is exchanged from one in which he or she is working from 'inside.' This oxymoronic both/and logic has now become the 'new cultural politics of difference' for the '90s (Cornel West, 1990). In the best writing this is not a politics of assimilation, but a recognition that there are no privileged spaces or symbolic resources that might secure

> cultural autonomy. In the pursuit of a non-racist culture the assertion of identity is a matter of political contingency and not ontology, a recognition that subjects are found in *'between'domains or liminal spaces of difference like race, class, and gender, in the interstices where these domains intersect.*

Difference, in cultural identity, which only comes into being through global recognition of the presence of cultural diversity creates spaces of negotiation for cultures to re-think their identities in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. Through positive appreciation of diversity and difference, the dark ethnocentric curtains (separating cultures) that prevent cultures from having a clear and informing view of the others are pulled down to allow not only clear sight/site and knowing but also mutual intermingling with the other.

Politics of cultural difference presumably allows for previously unheard and down graded cultures or groups of people to obtain or get a forum and sympathetic audiences that are eager to hear, negotiate and know from one another. This mutual coming together and knowing enables cultures or groups of people to negotiate and renegotiate their differences, and whenever possible come to a new understanding - an understanding that undoubtedly contributes towards cultural identity construction and reconstruction. Weeks (1990), discusses the value of difference in cultural identity construction by asserting that identity is "about belonging." Within identity you find the things that people have in common or share with others as well as those things that differentiates these same people from other people.

The notion of identity is involved in social relations and helps people to establish their "individuality." Weeks relates that we live within contradictory identities that are continuously in conflict within us as, for instance, "men or women, black or white, straight or gay, able-bodied or disabled, British or European." Weeks emphasizes that this list of conflicting identities within people is unlimited and so are their "possible belongings." In his discussion he stresses the value of difference in rethinking social conflicts by propounding that:

> At the centre, however, are the values we share or wish to share with others... This approach to socialist values is at a framework within which we can begin to rethink the question of difference at both the individual and collective level. Rather more effectively than a simple claim to right, such a position offers a set of criteria for assessing conflicting claims. More modestly than a morality of emancipation it avoids declarations about a final resolution of all conflict in a magical escape from oppression and exploitation. The aim instead is to offer a concept of politics as a process of continuous debate and mutual education, and to broaden the democratic imagination through the acceptance of human variety and difference. (pp. 88-99)

The value of difference in identity politics is its ability to project the critically synthesized; that which is new and unique; that which invites sharing or rejection among cultures in question. And since cultural interactions are continuous and actually now intensifying under postmodern's globalization process, that which is shareable among cultures in negotiation is endless and always changing. At the centre of such negotiation there are always contradictions which in essence are indicators that under the surface of social conflicts you find differences that call for close forums of negotiation.

The recognition of diversity and difference need not be taken for granted, that it can always lead to a positive and mutual understanding and sharing of cultural products for identity construction. Even though it has been emphasized that difference is presently at the centre of postmodern cultural identity politics and that it is through the conceptualization of difference within and between cultures that positive negotiations and renegotiations for third spaces are realized, this is not always the case.

Difference and diversity are in many cases taken negatively and hence instead of seeing what is authentically new and valuable in other cultures, people, and specifically those from dominant cultures, only see and identify weaknesses and weak points of the other. Dominant cultures are still inclined to hunting and sometimes (if not always) purposefully and constructing imaginary cultural weaknesses for the other cultures - weaknesses that are then used to devalue, degrade and pronounce or render these other cultures inferior and downtrodden!! Similar to this discussion, Homi Bhabha, (Peter Hitchcock, 1993-94) relates in connection with the role and place of hybridity during both colonial and post-colonial times. During colonial times, hybridity gave rise to third spaces that principally served as openings for systematic colonial propaganda, falsifications, mystifications and persistent indoctrination of the colonized other. For the colonized other, third spaces were literally mental confinement, barbed wired spaces. Third spaces served as the colonizers' arena for cultural identity devaluation and systematic, total mental imprisonment of the colonized individual; community; and nation. Bhabha again, (1990), relates what is within negative, ethnocentric, racist and biased recognition of difference and diversity in identity politics. Bhabha, while referring to politics of multiculturalism, emphasizes that Western connoiseurship is usually out to study other cultures with the central purpose of eventually exposing them - exposing their weaknesses. Bhabha goes on to link this Western tendency towards ethnocentrism with the British multicultural policies. The writer notes that the policies of multicultural education are not as fair, free and open as one would think them to be. Bhabha points out that "the endorsement of cultural diversity becomes a bedrock of multicultural education policy in this country." (p. 208). The writer brings forth two problems linked with multiculturalism in British education policies by asserting that

> ...although there is always an entertainment and encouragement of cultural diversity, there is always also a corresponding containment of it. ...'these other cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our own grid.' This is what I mean by a *creation* of cultural diversity and *containment* of cultural difference. The second problem is, as we know very well, that in societies where multiculturalism is encouraged racism is still rampant in various forms. This is because the universalism that paradoxically permits diversity masks ethnocentric norms, values and interests. ...we really do need the notion of a politics which is based on unequal, uneven, multiple and *potentially antagonistic*, polical identities. ...what is at issue is a historical moment in which these multiple identities do actually articulate in challenging ways, either positively or negatively, either in progressive or regressive ways, often conflictually, and sometimes even *uncommensurably* - not some flowering of individual talents and capacities. Multiculturalism represented an attempt both to respond to and to control the dynamic process of the articulation of cultural difference, administering a *consensus* based on a norm that propagates cultural diversity. (pp. 208-209)

Since the positive role of difference in cultural identity politics can be suppressed and nullified by ethnocentric, racist and many other intentions, it is imperative to watch out as to how difference is put into use in specific situations. It is how difference is valued or devalued during inter or intra cultural negotiations that a consensus (point of mutual understanding) is reached or fails to be reached. Examples of the role and place of difference in inter and intra cultural conflicts can be sited in many places in the postmodern world. Understandings or misunderstandings through difference in cultural identity politics have much to do with the restoration of peace or the instigation and eventual triggering of both civil and international wars. Present war zones, like Rwanda and Zaire, Britain and Northern Ireland, The middle East (Israel and Palestine); Iraq, United States of America; and Kurdistan are examples of places where conflicting differences have more or less remained untouched and intact. These differences have either been overlooked, suppressed or remained unresolved due to personal benefits of the conflicting parties. History creates differences, and it is these historical differences that make the construction of cultural identity problematic and hence triggering human unrest and endless fatal wars. Innocent people suffer and many die amidst unresolved conflicting differences. The present ongoing conflicts – though sometimes silent and at times salient – expressed within and between genders, races, nations, centres and peripheries etc., are simply and essentially centered on unresolved differences and hence on *difference*.

Cultural identity construction that goes in line with the postmodern politics of global peace and prosperity needs to pay more attention to the question of difference. It is my view that, globally, difference has not properly been valued and put into task – a thing which, apparently, keeps nurturing social conflicts and endless wars.

Theorists have thus been visualizing the continuous realization of cultural identity construction in a number of ways. Concepts like hybridity and syncretism, have also frequently featured in cultural identity discussions. It is thus, the purpose of this section to attempt to briefly examine the place and possible meanings of these concepts in contemporary postmodern cultural identity politics. The continuous and ongoing cultural identity construction, out of the positive recognition of difference, is contemporarily being discussed using, and in relation to, the above named concepts. These concepts are used in different and varying ways and contexts to attempt to explain how, out of difference, cultural identity constructions are assumed to take place. In essence, the concepts do, more or less, mean the same thing, since they all centre on the possible free play of cultural interactions that bring changes in identities through mutual influencing and fusion.

10.3.1 **Hybridity**

Hybridity is generally understood as the formation of a third space.

This third space is also always changing and never complete. It is a space that is continually being formed through and as a result of positive recognition of difference. Hybridity, as third space, is a possible conducive chance or room for negotiation or rethinking of recognized differences – differences that call or need the attention of cultures or parties in question, so as to come up with some new understanding or meaning. Bhabha, (1990), views hybridity as a third space.

> Now the notion of hybridity...of cultural translation (both as representation and as reproduction) denies the essentialism of a prior given original or ordinary culture, then we see that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity. But for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge. This third space displaces the histories that constitute it and sets up new structures of authority new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom... So I think that political negotiation is a very important issue, and hybridity is precisely about the fact that when a new situation, a new alliance formulates itself, it may demand that you should translate your principles, rethink them, extend them. (pp. 211-216)

To Bhabha, hybridity is a space that gives room for new negotiation, renegotiations and new ways of understanding cultural issues experienced through difference. Third space creates chances for re-thinking the cultural histories that appear to be sources of conflicting difference and that need rejection, displacement or modification for new ideas and understanding. Hitchock (1993-94) discusses hybridity with reference to Homi Bhabha. Hitchcock regards all human cultural identities as hybrids. He specifically emphasizes that it is never possible to stress one's identity from any specific past origin. All identities are always a result of continuous hybridizations. Hitchcock, while referring to Bhabha does point out the essential place of hybridity in relation to colonial and post colonial cultural identity constructions. Hitchcock points out that :

> Thus, hybridity is: 'A problematic of colonial representation... that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal [of the other], so that other 'denied' knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority.' The effect of hybridity becomes a strategic reversal of colonial domination and a subversion of its logic of suppression: if the colonized can not be the absolute other of the colonizer then this identity might be part of the all-seeing eye of colonial authority itself and therefore a highly productive source of instability. (p. 13)

The formation of a Third Space in hybridity becomes a dependable means for resistance, negotiation, understanding and possible eventual emancipation of the oppressed other. In this way, difference, diversity and hybridity are core components of cultural identity construction. The upcoming important role of hybridity in contemporary cultural identity contractions is pointed out by Shohat and Stam (1994) when they assert that African art has had great influence on other contemporary cultures. They contend that "the values of African religious culture... have come to inform... a good deal of Afro-diasporic cinema." Shohat and Stam mention Brazilian films such as "Rocha's Barravento (1962), Cavalcantis's A Forca de Xango (the Force of Xango, 1977) and dos Santos' Amuleto de Ogum, (Ogum's Amulet, 1975) as examples of cultural (Sharing) hybridity. The writers also give examples of Cuban films like Patakin (1980) and African -American films like Julie Dash's Daughters of the Dust (1990). According to Shohat and Stam, all these films make good use of "African (usually Yoruba) religious symbolism and practice."

The above films are created as a result of the positive recognition of diversity and difference. The film makers have come to see that there are good cultural values in African societies that are worth using (critically and selectively) in other cultures.

Without hybridity, the mere positive recognition of difference and diversity appears not to be very helpful. jagodzinski (1997), examines hybridity in relation to black "British" critics like Stuart Hall, Homi Bhabha and Paul Gilroy, In here, jagodzinski sees hybridity as a negotiating space; as a retelling area for conflicting cultural experiences encountered through living. Hybridity creates a third space with conductive atmospheres and conditions for opposing or conflicting parties to negotiate, exchange and possibly understand one another in a new way. In his analysis jagodzinski asserts:

> At the end of the '80's a number of influential post-colonial black 'British' critics, particularly Stuart Hall..., Homi Bhabha..., and Gilroy... argued for the concept of seeing multiculturalism in terms of *hybridity* or crossover where 'difference' was to be used strategically by incorporating other influences... Artistic hybridity as theorized above often presents the clash of cultures with resistance and anger, often retelling the day-to-day experience of living in a multi-ethnic society.

However, this mutual understanding and positive recognition of difference and diversity - especially between the Third World and the West - is not that easily accomplished due to the fact that the cultures of the Imperialist West's Other have been regarded as inferior (and hence worth changing), right from colonial times todate. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, (1987) also describes how the colonial totalitarian and dehumanizing attitude toward the colonized other affected the identity construction of this colonized other. Wa Thiong'o laments the central strategy of colonialism was to "control the people's wealth...through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship." Wa Thiong'o, however, points out that the most crucial and strategic area of colonial domination of the colonized other was in people's minds.

> But its more important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonized, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control a people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others. For colonialism this involved two aspects of the same process; the destruction or deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, their art, dances, religions, history,

> geography, education , orature, and literature, and the conscious elevation of the language of the colonizer. (p.16)

Fanon (1967) points out how a strong sense of inferiority complex was created (and in some cases still is) in the minds of colonized people. Fanon observes that through colonization, the colonized is culturally oppressed and mentally transformed to the point of worshipping the oppressor and submitting to his/her misconstructed foreign imposed self devaluation. Fanon contends that:

> Every colonized people - in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality - finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation, that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle... It has been said that the Negro is the link between monkey and man - meaning, of course, white man. (pp. 18 - 30)

Contemporary imperialism still uses similar and even better strategies to tame Third World countries, so that these marginalised countries can continue to diligently serve the imperial world. The present global proliferation of Western mass media and communication networks in the Third World is to purposely enculturate the marginalized Other so that he or she can continuously assume a Western way of living and understanding the world. I am not trying or planning to be ethnocentric. The reality is that Western influence in Third World countries is overpowering and thus "third spaces" are virtually and increasingly being saturated with Western cultural products of influence. And if identity is really contestable and negotiable via third spaces, do we expect or believe that this is what is actually happening between the Western or other imperialist world and Third World countries? I personally believe not. It is my view that the negotiation between dominant cultures, (where ever they are in the universe) and the so regarded as 'inferior' marginalized cultures, via third spaces; need and should be accompanied by, among other things, relevant, well planned and delivered cultural education of the Other. This is education that can enrich possible self understanding and self esteem and also help to positively project the authenticity of the marginalized Other's own identity and culture.

10.3.2 Syncretism

Syncretism and hybridity more or less mean the same thing in cultural identity politics. They both work on creating third spaces for cultural negotiation based on diversity and difference. However, syncretism as a concept was coined as a revolt against hybridity - a term which is regarded by some theorists as heterosexist. Hitchcock (1993-94), points out that Marcos Becquer and Jose Gatti, are the theorists who came about with the concept of syncretism. According to Hitchcock relates that the notion of hybridity pinpoint the problems surrounding cultural identity politics. The writer states:

> By considering how vogueing subjects 'transverse sexualities, genders, races and classes in performance,' 'Becquer and Gatti challenge the hegemony of hybridity as a 'heterosexist metaphor.' They offer instead a theory of syncretism as a 'tactical articulation of different elements.' (p. 14)

To elaborate on the problematics of hybridity in cultural identity politics, Hitchcock (1993-94), continues to assert, while quoting Becquer and Gattti, that the two terms, hybridity and syncretism, have in the past been used "interchangeably" but what differentiates syncretism from hybridity is that syncretism "eschews the 'giveness' of identity for its contestatory flux."(p. 14). Hitchcock emphasises that the place of syncretism in identity politics “remains contingent to relations of power” and it can change in response to historical conditions. In this way the cultural products involved in sincerity cultural relations and identity constructions are "denied any priori 'necessary belongings'"(p. 14), and in this way are not in any sense fixed "both to their identities, and to their relation."(p. 14). Hitchcock continues to elaborate:

> In this manner, syncretism designates articulation as a politicized and discontinuous mode of becoming. It entails the 'formal' coexistence of components whose precarious (i.e. partial as opposed to impartial) identities are mutually modified in their encounter, yet whose distinguishing differences, as such, are not dissolved or elided in these modifications, but strategically reconstituted in an ongoing war of position. (p. 14)

Contemporary applications of syncretism in cultural identity politics have been examined by Shoat and Sam (1994). Shoat and Stamps' discussion points out that syncretism is a careful and critical cut and mix of both foreign and local cultural products. The theorists specifically refer to the use of the term "Missala", in East Indian film making – whereby the concept denotes "mixing". Shasta and Sam contend that "Indian film makers speak of blending the *massala*...creating something new out of old ingredients"

The writers give examples of films that employ syncretism in their making. These examples are "Indo-Canadian (Massala, 1991) and Indo-American (Mississippi Massala, 1991). In both examples, the creations are achieved through free play - cut and mix of cultural products from the Indian and Canadian or Indian and American cultures that are artistically engaged in negotiations.

The use of syncretism has especially been very popular in the contemporary music industry. Composers to incorporate or blend their music pieces with ideas and beats from all corners of the world. Such syncretic techniques are more common with the diaspora in places like South America, the United States of America, Canada, Britain, and France. Shohat and Stam (1994), present examples of such blending:

> Music especially has been syncretic. The mutually enriching collaborations between the diverse currents of Afro-diasporic music - yielding such hybrids as 'samba-reggae' 'samba-rap,' 'jazz-tango', 'rap-reggae' and 'roferenge' (a blend of rock, forro, and merengue) in the Americans - offer examples of 'literal syncretism' or syncretism on a 'sideways' basis of rough equality. Diasporic musical cultures mingle with one another while simultaneously also playing off the dominant media - disseminated tradition of First World, especially American popular music, itself energized by afro-diasporic traditions. An endlessly creative multi-directional flow of musical ideas thus moves back and forth around the 'Black Atlantic' (Gilroy's phrase); for example, between, cool jazz and samba in bossa nova, between soul music and ska in reggae. Afro-diasporic music displays an anthrophagic capacity to absorb influences, including Western influences, while still being driven by a culturally African bass note. (p. 314)

The above mentioned international - intercultural sharing of music styles and manner of composing is quite familiar within the Tanzanian music industry. Styles like *Samba* and *Merengue* (or Merenge in Kiswahili language), which are and inter and trans-cultural, have been familiar and popular in Tanzanian music compositions since the 1950s. Tanzanian bands, most notably Nuta Jazz; Western Jazz, Morogoro Jazz, Dar-Es-salaam Jazz have been mixing local music styles and those from other cultures such as Zaire and Latin America. These cultures are continually sharing their styles up to the present days of *rap, reggae and Western pop music.* In the still underdeveloped sector of art, this cultural sharing is slowly becoming visible. Art forms like batik, oil and water colour painting which were previously less known in Tanzania are already quite common and being used very freely thus producing many other mid forms and substyles. Hand made batik and *tie and dye* fabric products are slowly becoming popular in Tanzania and continuing to gain international quality. Though it needs to be noted that this creative development is more noticeable in few, rather private groups of people outside the schooling system.

Reading from the above discussion; syncretism can be a dependable asset in cultural identity politics. Syncretism, critically used can allow various cultures to mix, blend, and influence one another for the betterment of all the parties in question. But still, syncretism, like hybridity, needs to be accompanied by relevant cultural education - knowledge that can help in directing the selection, cut and mix, blending and consumption of the resultant cultural products.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Art, Art Education and Cultural Identity Construction

Postmodernism and its globalization process is making the practice of art education problematic. The role of art and art education in society is increasingly being questioned. How does art and art education respond to the numerous multicultural societies that are being formed in cities, towns and even village communities around the world? How does art and art education relate to contemporary postmodern cultural identity constructions? Should art have a social role or should it simply stand aloof as purely aesthetic? Should it assume universal standards and qualities? What is authenticity in art and art education? Is African art (or arts of Africa) authentic? These are some of the questions that confront artists, art educators and critics of our time. The editor, McRorie, Y. of *Studies in Art Education* (1996), notes the problems facing contemporary cultures and their arts. Referring to Karen Winkler and Benjamin Barber, McRorie comments:

> Karen Winkler (1995) recently reported on the widely discussed new book *Jihad vs McWorld* (1995), in which author Benjamin Barber analyzes two conflicting forces which he claims could weak hoc with a democratic way of life. "We are caught between Barber and Dysneyland," he says in the process of describing what he calls *Jihad* or the tribalization of cultures and *McWorld*, the integration of the world through technology and corporate expansion.... Although *Jihad* is clearly dangerous, Barber sees *McWorld* as more so. With the spread of McDonalds, Dysneylands, and similar products of other huge polyglot corporations throughout the world, a plastic culture is being developed that breeds homogeneity and passivity, and replaces civic responsibility with buying and selling. *McWorld* feeds off *Jihad* using its battles as subject matter for newscasts and in the entertainment media while the increasing trade of *McWorldism* causes those characterized by *Jihad* to withdraw into ever greater isolation. Communication, other than in the passive homogenized form from McWorld, is lacking; and without that, there is no real understanding. For example, that taunted and yet contested concept, multiculturalism; becomes even more contested - what is the result of the interactions of *Jihad and McWorld* on our understandings of what an authentic culture and its arts might be and what and how we choose to teach in our

classrooms? (p. 67)

As it is pointed out in the above discussion on Benjamin Barber's work, contemporary societies - especially those in developing countries like Tanzania are in a dilemma. How do they create a balance between, on one side, incoming foreign influential cultural forces that are being relentlessly transmitted through the fast expanding media technology and transnational corporations, and on the other side, their local cultural heritage that is undoubtedly grounded in enormous precious history? These two contradicting cultural forces are not equal and opposite, but surely unequal and opposite. As already noted, transnational cultural influences (especially those originating from the West) are increasingly getting stronger and more persuasive. This trend, unfortunately, does not seem to favour a fair and mutual cultural mix for all cultures of the world. Third World countries are steadily and surely getting culturally Westernized. Global intercultural influences tend increasingly to fix Third World countries to the West. I am not trying to be ethnocentric, but I also have the liberty of questioning deliberate displacement of marginalised cultures by the self-dubbed Western "super cultures." Also to be questioned in this regard is how all these ongoing developments come to relate to and affect art and art education. In discussing the problems facing bourgeois artists in Third World countries, Bandaranayake (1987/88) refers to the work of Ivan Peries, an artist from Sri Lanka, Ceylon. While stressing the role and importance of artists in contemporary societies, Bandaranayake contends:

> Any attempt to analyze and to assess the achievement of Ivan Peries cannot be an isolated critical endeavor. It cannot be separated from much wider implications that arise from the confrontation of that work with the society from which it issues and to which it is addressed. ...If these paintings are to be understood at all in any significant way, they must be understood in terms of the

> contribution they make to the cultural experience and traditions of the society in which they exist. To do less than that, for instance, to see these pictures as self-contained and self-explanatory art works to be cherished in private, their profound artistic experience to be shared at best between a few isolated and (culturally) privileged individuals is an injustice to both art and community... It hinges, in essence on the understanding not only of his art and his personal experience but also of his historical predicament. While this applies equally to the position of the artist and the intellectual everywhere, it is of particular relevance to the artist in the societies of the Third World. These societies are today struggling to liberate themselves from their economic and cultural impoverishment, striving to determine their own history, rather than have it determined for them; to act rather than to be acted upon... It reveals finally that the historical role of the Third World artist depends as much on the objective relationship between that artist and his society as it does on the quality of his subjective achievement. (pp. 77-78)

As Bandaranayake explains, art and art education have duties to perform in any society. But then what are these duties? How are these duties performed? These are leading questions in this discussion. What is the place of art and art education in Tanzanian society? How does art and art education respond to the whole question of cultural identity construction in contemporary Tanzanian society? The discussion makes reference to both views of respondents in the study and to other relevant critics and theorists.

11.1 The Role of Art and Art Education in Contemporary Society

Tanzania is and has always been a multicultural country. There are presently more than one hundred ethnic groups in the country. Everyone of the ethnic groups possesses a distinct language that carries with it all sorts of norms, values and traditions that are particular to itself. Apart from these many ethnic groups, Tanzania, is not shielded from the postmodern globalization process that brings about unprecedented intra, inter and transnational cultural interactions and exchanges. In this way local cultures are continually changing and assuming alien cultural values. Art is one of those agents of influence that mediate these cultural interactions. Under these postmodern conditions of massive and complex cultural coming together, art is urged to take an active rather than passive role in society. Postmodern art educators, critics and theorists are increasingly claiming that art and art education needs to be centered on the construction and transmission of meaning. Art works need to be created with reference to society - so that such works can have some cultural message to portray to the audience. Wolcott (1996) observes that contemporary art education focuses on the content portrayed in art works. This is content that is "delivered from a broad range of the visual arts with an emphasis on what can be learned from works of art." Wolcott adds:

> We now question the very concept of art and its role in our pluralistic society. Modernist traditions of form, aesthetic value, and the autonomy of meaning in art have come under question. Many postmodern artists and critics have come to believe that the construction of meaning is the major issue of today's art. (pp. 69)

As Wolcott relates, postmodern art needs to be created with close reference to people who use it. Art has to have a meaning in people's lives. The modernist view and beliefs on the place and function of art in society are rigorously being questioned. The formalist belief that art could simply exist devoid of social meaning and still be highly valued on its qualities that are exclusively based on form is presently losing ground. Art is now called to respond to the ever increasing social, economic, and cultural problems that are brought forth by the postmodern complex way of life. Wolcott (1996) continues her analysis of the postmodern approach to understanding works of art by contending:

> Consequently, much current practice in art education is characterized by describing and analyzing the elements and principles of design and emotive content of artworks. Modernist theories of aesthetic experience are restrictive

> because they are inadequate for dealing with much contemporary art. The content of postmodern art is different from that of modernism because it deals with issues of content rather than form. Given the nature of contemporary works of art, how should we explain our responses to works of art? Art educators need a basis for interpretation that provides a better foundation for understanding contemporary works of art. (pp. 69 - 70).

Prof. Jengo, (1977, unpublished paper), in similar ways also discusses the place of art in society. Jengo specifically attempts to link art and activities that are related to national development. In his analysis, he points out that art has a major role to play in national development. Jengo views art as a form of material production and that it is created to fulfill a human purpose. He asserts:

> According to Malecela the approach has been to promote economic growth at the expense of cultural, psychological and spiritual elements of our nation. The question to ask ourselves is whether art, as an aspect of culture can develop independently or its development is closely linked with the economic development of a nation. My position is that art is a form of material production process because its existence depends upon human action which is creative labor. The process of material production transforms natural objects into a condition where they can satisfy human needs. Carving a door, making a clay pot, painting a picture, designing a jet engine and so on, are examples of material production. A painting is a product and so is a clay pot... Social existence of all societies has its origin in the process of material production which provides the means of consumption. Economists tell us that material production is the starting point of society itself and hence provides a starting point for economic theory. Art is consumed for social or religious purposes in almost all societies. In ancient societies such as ancient Greece, all gods were works of art; they were statues made of marble stone. In Nigeria today, the Yoruba shrine carvings, *Eshu-Elegba* are but works of art, and so are the Tanzania's Makonde ritual dance masks popularly known as *Vinyago*. Thus, we find that if development is seen as a socio-economic process of change aimed at raising the standard of living and quality of life, art has a place in this context of development. (pp. 1-2, Transcript notes)

According to Jengo, art is part and parcel of human life. Art has been the foundation of human creative involvement right from the time of our early ancestors. In fact almost all human creative involvement is in one way or another linked to art. Mwasanga likewise sees art as inseparable from human struggle for meaningful existence. Commenting on the role and attitude of Tanzania's education officials on art and art education in Tanzania, before and after independence Mwasanga asserts that

> ...nobody paid attention on art. It didn't ring in peoples' minds that art is a major subject, although in reality, nobody can do without art. You see! So art was not given any priority. (Interview response)

As observed throughout the above discussion with interviewees, art and art education have not been given much emphasis in Tanzania. The crucial link between art, art education and the community at large has up to now been either lacking or unclear, or even underestimated. Dr. Msemwa of The National Museums of Tanzania expresses his doubts as to whether there is any link between art in schools and colleges and the community. Dr. Msemwa relates that:

> ...art and art education ...need to be given the status it deserves. I think this could be very valuable and meaningful. What I know ...yes there is a form of art and art education in lets say secondary schools, and even in colleges and even at the University of Dar-Es-salaam. But to what extent this knowledge had been linked or passed on to the communities; it is another thing. (Interview response)

The apparent missing link between art, art education and the community is as well being questioned by Stankiewicz (1987). Stankiewicz presents several questions related to the way postmodern art and art education could be linked to the community. These similar questions were asked a century ago by Isaac Edwards Clarke, but Stankiewicz believes they are quite relevant in relation to the problems facing our postmodern condition. Stankiewicz states:

> Clarke's (1885) answers no longer fit our definition of democracy or art, but the questions, to which the essays in this volume offer answers, continue:
> - What should be the goals of art education in a democracy, and who should benefit from realization of those goals?

> - Is art the purview of a highly educated, wealthy elite, or can all citizens participate in the arts?
> - How should aesthetic policy decisions be made by a cadre of trained experts or by the public who must live with the results of those decisions?
> - What does history contribute to understanding art in a democratic society?
> - What should be the relationship of art and art education to technology?
> - How should ethical responsibilities and aesthetic issues be balanced in a democratic society? (pp. 167 - 168).

Clarke's questions attempt to problematize the manner in which art can be brought closer to society and the way art can be of benefit to the communities of its making. People need to be made to recognize and realize what is good in art and art education, and what can be the benefits of such art to individuals and the entire community. For art to be esteemed and accepted by the community, its use or functional value must be clearly presented to them. It is not worthwhile to assume that all people know art and appreciate the benefits of it. Comprehensive art education to our schools and whenever possible to the community, can help people realize the place of art in their lives, and how culture can benefit from the activities involving artists, art works and the audience.

Chalmers (1987) analyses the essence of art in society. Chalmers specifically points out the importance of art in social economic and cultural well-being of the people. Art, he claims, acts as an agent for social change. Chalmers contends:

> For some time I have argued that it is not particularly useful for art educators to pay too much attention to entrenched ideas in philosophical aesthetics and to some other typically Western "high art" approaches to art "appreciation" (Chalmers, 1971, 1981). Connoisseurs in aesthetic education have exerted a particular influence on art education. I have posted that such approaches which may claim to be universal, are in fact, elitist and culture bound. ...In terms of seeing art as an important part of *everyone's* life, what is the use of teaching a person to make art, to study its history, or to even talk about it, if that person does not see that art may relate to the social order in a casual and functional manner?
>
> Art still edifies people. It can maintain and improve their collective existence. Art, directly and indirectly, may bolster the morale of groups

> working to *create* unity and social solidarity. As used by dissident groups, art may create awareness of social issues. In this context it provides a rallying cry for action and for social change. To be sure, art can be used for decoration and enhancement, but to fulfill its total function; art has to achieve communication with its audience. If art had no communicative role then it cannot maintain or change cultures or even be said to be enhancing. If we, as art educators, are to produce artists or art consumers who can see art's function in society, then we need to consider the cultural foundations of art and broaden our definitions of art to include the cultural artifacts of all cultures and subcultures. (pp. 4 - 5)

It is worth noting that the communicative aspect in art is vitally important. Art that is created with a major purpose of communicating information can be very powerful in influencing people for change. However it is not that simple to create powerful communicative art. It does not just follow that people will understand the language of any art. The creation of meaningful communicative art and eventual productive use of it calls for adequate and comprehensive education for both the artists and the consuming community. Postmodern art educators need to design curricula in schools that will cater to meaningful communicative art education. The community requires to be introduced to understanding the language used in communication through art as well . It is only through proper education and planning for the link between art, art education and the community that the fruits of art in society can be harvested for profitable social ends. To understand the strengths of communicative art in society, the following example deserves noting. The strength of art in social change is here evidenced by Koloane (1993) when he discusses the 1982 Gaborone conference *cum* arts festival. The conference *cum* art festival was convened to examine and "assess the role of art and artists within Apartheid South Africa."(p. 101) Koloane shows how art can be a great influence for cultural awareness, social change, and instigating resistance. In his treatise, Koloane brings forth an example of how socially relevant art (art that speaks of the people and for the people so as to reveal the social economic, cultural and political injustices done to them,) can be feared even by the most powerful tyrannical state rulers. Koloane accounts:

> The first conference *cum* arts festival convened to assess the role of art and artists within Apartheid South Africa was in 1982 in Gaborone, Botswana. It was conceived by the Medu Cultural Ensemble which comprised exiled South African writers, musicians, painters, sculptors and sympathizers. The major liberation movements such as the African National Congress were banned by the Nationalist government. Under the blanket bans imposed in the repressive period of the 1960s, leaders and followers alike were forced to operate underground in sympathetic neighboring countries and overseas. Exiled cultural representatives of various groups as well as those still operating within the country converged on Gaborone for the 1982 conference under the theme, Culture and Resistance. From the various seminars organized around the music, theatre, dance performances and exhibitions, it became evident that a culture of resistance had arisen in challenge to the Apartheid system. The suppression of free expression and restriction of movement which epitomized in the Apartheid system, had been translated into an overtly political expression in the various art forms. Cultural influenced 'Mdali' in the 1960s, and during the '70s the Medupe writers group which comprised both black and white writers and was mainly affiliated to the ANC, was hounded by security police.
>
> In 1984 the South African defense force carried out a merciless raid in Botswana. The raid was supposedly aimed at ANC military bases in neighboring states. Ironically, most of those killed in the Botswana raid were involved in cultural rather than military activities. Among them was Thami Mnyere, a graphic artist who was a key figure in convening the Culture for Resistance Conference. (p. 101)

Postmodern societies need art that is socially provoking, similar to that which has featured at the Gaborone Culture and Resistance Conference. Postmodern cultures are cultures that are undergoing tremendous and extensive transformations. These contemporary social transformations, that undoubtedly involve identity constructions and reconstructions call for art forms and other mass media and communications systems that can explain the essence accompanying such phenomena.

Another example of socially provoking art was used in Tanzania during the 1978 Tanzania-Uganda war. During this war art was employed to express various social and political issues. Communicative art helped to unify the Tanzanian people by taking part in the explanation as to why the country had decided to go to war with Uganda. With the aid of communicative art, and other media systems, people were made to realize that the (common) people of Uganda were not their enemies. Their enemies were the then Ugandan President Amin and his henchmen. Through art, the Ugandan President was frequently metaphorically and artistically represented as a snake, a creature which nearly every human being runs away from. In other occasions this Ugandan leader was also portrayed as the greedy hyena. In discussing the link between art and cultural identity construction, Massanja, an art lecturer at the University of Dar-Es-salaam comments on the role of art during this Tanzania - Uganda war.

> Yes I believe so; I believe so. Now, taking examples; different examples of art forms, especially graphic arts - let us take for instance drawing. Drawing can address itself to various activities - various kinds of information. It can tell anything. It can be as a medium of instruction or of information or of education - what ever; and by doing so trying to create a cultural identity. ...Now, for instance, if I take an example, a very good example of lets say when we had a war with Uganda. There was a lot of drawing - cartoon drawing trying to depict the war, and at least to identify the enemy. How does the enemy look like and so and so on. There were so many examples of this enemy. Some came with monsters, some came with a snake, some came with a hyena, and so many other things. In doing so, you are trying to educate; at the same time you are trying to build a cultural identity for Tanzanians as a unity. To unify the people; so that they may fight this common enemy. So I find is very educative. Going to other plastic arts; for instance the Makonde carvings and whatever. Those people have already manifested themselves into a particular kind of cultural identity in Tanzania. A piece of Makonde art work differs from that of the Akamba of Kenya. First of all from the media-they are using ebony while the Akamba are using these normal wood-not black wood. So when you pick up a Makonde work of art; even if you go to any other country, apart from Tanzania - outside-lets say in a foreign country - you find that this art will identify itself as coming from Tanzania. This identity is from the style; from the media; and even more so, from the message. There are no people in Africa or in the world, so to say who carve or who do carving about Shetani or Ujamaa or family tree. It is only Tanzania and it is therefore our identity. (interview response)

Many Tanzanians including Masanja and myself did appreciate the role of art during the Tanzania - Uganda war. The art involved was highly expressive; filled with a lot of both social and political messages. The artists successfully created art works that had direct and clear meanings - meanings which were easy to be understood by the majority of Tanzanians. For instance, as noted above, some Uganda leaders were in many cases portrayed as serpents - huge and long snakes - possibly pythons, whose heads were clearly identifiable to them. For example a snake would be represented with part of its hind body curled and the fore part, including its head raised, upright, its mouth wide open, ready to inflict harm to any body around. It was the intent of the serpent to swallow the whole of Tanzania and digest it for its own ferocious and greedy ends. In other occasions a Ugandan leader would be depicted as a greedy hyena that was never satisfied. In such representation, the hyena was always dressed up in full army general's military gear - with all the possible medals and regalia a military officer of that rank could ever achieve. In some incidences, a leader would be represented with an actual hyena's body, head and face, but still fully over dressed up as a military officer. In this case the greedy hyena would pose with its mouth wide open, its saliva dripping, tongue hanging out with unprecedented appetite to attack, wreck and consume any living creature found loitering within its vicinity.

So, with the help of the mass media, art being part of it, the Tanzanian people were educated and helped to understand the relevance of the war. Through such propaganda, the Tanzanian people were unified and together they fought and won the war. But what were the characteristics of this successful art? How did it manage to penetrate into peoples' minds and inform them? One standing out factor as noted above, was its simplicity and clarity in the portrayal of meaning. Educative art needs to be simple and clear. The common people are able to understand and learn from art that presents its messages in simple and straight forward manner. Muhando, Enea, a tutor at Morogoro Teachers College discusses the problems people face in extracting meaning from art. Muhando, for instance reflects that the "ordinary" (common) Tanzanian people normally do not understand or conceptualise meaning portrayed through abstract art. He does note that people will always strive hard to understand messages carried through an art work. Muhando makes an account of the experiences he has had with the audience that visits his Morogoro downtown gallery. Muhando observes that:

> Yah, many people here are trained to ask for meanings. When you show then a painting; they ask you 'what is the meaning of this?' And sometimes they like to see things or ideas in a painting or something and if you just paint impressions of feelings in abstract form; they would like the form; 'It looks beautiful, but I don't know what it is?' So I say, 'Just look and tell me your feelings.' They say; 'No, I can't see, because I do not know what it is.' They are given to figure, particular figures or symbols, rather than, I mean something symbolic. But I wouldn't say that they don't appreciate things which are completely abstract. And symbols have direct messages; but images which are non symbolic can impress them because they have order. (interview response)

In relation to art and communication; Muhando also narrates about an exhibition he attended in Dar-Es-salaam, whereby he met and talked with the exhibiting artist. Muhando relates how the artist was eager to know whether his art was using a language that the people could read and understand. In attempting to answer the question whether or not people view art with an intent of understanding the embodied meanings, Muhando narrates:

> I think that is very important. I once went to an exhibition in Dar-Es-salaam, and the artist was a very generous person. You know, most of the artists can become selfish... But this one was very much interested in getting opinions. 'How do you react to this?' 'How would you like it?'; and he had sheets of paper on which people could write comments. Their impressions. And I talked to him. I was in a hurry; but I talked to this man and he told me 'No; you see, I want to communicate with these people, and I want to see if they react to my work; I mean if it uses a language that speaks to them. And if it articulates their feelings. I mean when they see my work? And I noticed this from our gallery that when they come there, sometimes they (art viewers) even offer

> suggestions. They tell you; 'Now why is this thing going this way?' Which means they also contemplate; I mean they receive it effectively. (Interview response)

While bearing in mind that art needs to be understandable to the people or rather have a meaning or function in their lives; another respondent in the study looks into the broad importance of art. Nakanoga, a design lecturer at the University of Dar-Es-salaam metaphorically considers art to be a "reflector" in society. In this sense Nakanoga relates art to the reflectors in a car's head lights. The better the reflectors, the better the driver will be able to see his or her way ahead in the dark, and hence be able to drive and travel well, faster and peacefully. In Nakanoga's view, art is at the centre of human existence and development. The educational and communicative role of art is here by emphasised. In attempting to discuss the role of art in cultural identity construction, Nakanoga contends that:

> Well, that statement is very true in the sense that art in every society is like a reflector in the culture of that particular society. Now, when I say reflector, I just try to take an example of lights in a car. If you have the lights and the reflectors are bright enough - clear - new; ah; you find that the driver is even more comfortable. You see! The vision is more clear and you can see even far. Thus the way reflectors sort of function in a car, lights can be metaphorically compared to the place and role of art in society. In a society within its culture, art is like reflectors. Yah; with reflectors or with art, the society is able to see far, and the instrument in that sense is an artist and his ability to reflect the thinking; the attitude and even the functioning; the activities of that particular culture. Without art culture is somehow like crippled. It will have no tool to really enable itself to see beyond, and in that sense it will also make outsiders think that a certain society; not that it doesn't have a culture; but that it lacks something... which make that particular society fail to reflect its own cultural identity... So in that sense, art in a society is very important; just like a torch for that particular society. (Interview response)

As Nakanoga contends, any society depends much on the functions and services of art, and so do the contemporary postmodern cultures. Communicative art, art that is able to pass over or convey information within or between cultures is essential in development; and more so in cultural identity constructions. Through the aid of art people are even able to revisit their far past social economic and cultural histories for the construction of future cultures. It is however worth noting that in everyday life the communicative role of art in society is not as linear and unidirectional as it might be understood through Nakanoga's metaphor of "reflection." The communicative and educational role of art in society is usually centred on sharing of knowledge - on a give and take relationship. Through art - art that is specially created to pass or convey meaning or knowledge, people are able to learn and educate one another endlessly. Masanja's example of the role of art during the Tanzania - Uganda war fits well in exemplifying this sharing of knowledge through the media of art. A notable example of the role of art in informing society can also be observed in cave drawings and paintings. In the case of Tanzania, one is for instance able to learn about past cultures from cave or rock art that is mostly found in Kondoa district in Central Tanzania. Through observing rock paintings one is able to visualize and comprehend how our stone age ancestors lived. Paintings and drawings depicting various activities of which hunting was predominant - can be seen on cave walls and ceilings .

Posnansky (1968) in discussing the East African prehistoric cultures, shows how art has been important in human cultural history. Pornansky contends that:

> A large amount of our information about the more recent stone age hunters and food-gatherers comes from rock paintings. Rock paintings tell the archaeologist more about the spiritual and religious life of the hunters than ever can stone tools or even burials. The paintings of East Africa are all relatively recent; some are the work of Iron Age pastoral peoples. Those that survive are probably only a fraction of many that were painted, as a large number suffered from exposure to sun and rain... By the late stone age man was a skillful tool-maker and hunter. He had the technical ability to decorate, and his success as a hunter give him both the time and the stimulus for art. As a

> hunter he had to observe the life of the animals he hunted. Why he painted is difficult to answer, but it is probable that he depicted animals sometimes to commemorate his successes and at other times hoping that by drawing the desired animal he would have luck in hunting. But the art probably formed part of his vivid folklore and it is difficult to disentangle what was considered magic and what was functional for the success of the hunt. (pp. 65-66)

As observed in the above discussion, the close link between art, culture and learning has a long history. The ability for artists to reflect on culture and express it artistically has had immense contribution towards the learning of cultural histories of societies in the world. The rock paintings in Tanzania and in many other countries were not only important to the people who painted them; these ancient art works are still important to the postmodern world. Present day art historians and archaeologists are still learning much from rock art and burial site excavations all around the world. Such knowledge helps present researchers to have a better understanding of how people lived many years ago. It is the expressive and representational qualities of these art works - that directly link to human life experiences that are of much importance. Postmodern art needs to be even more expressive and socially linked, so as to really confront and deal with the contemporary, complex multicultural and transcultural issues.

Stressing more the importance for art to be socially expressive and informative, Blandy (1987) comments on Lima art students' postmodern art creation. Blandy discusses Lima students' sculpture creation which was an outcome of their opposition to a sculpture competition that they believed was conducted in an antipostmodern, antidemocratic manner. Blandy relates:

> This public demonstration by Mike Huffman and his students was motivated by their dissatisfaction with the process and results of the sculpture competition. According to Huffman (personal communication, January 2, 1986), he and his students felt that it was ludicrous for the sculpture competition committee to commission a public sculpture, purportedly reflective of the Lima community, from an artist who would visit the city on only one or two occasions. One student

> spoke for all when he said, 'Who does this guy think he is? He comes here for one day and tell us who we are, what we like, and what we are about!' Writing about the students' alternative, Huffman states, 'Our 'Kewpee Piece' was a direct image from the community. Unlike the artist in question, we had a long-standing relation with Lima. That relation allowed us to focus on a single aspect common to almost everyone at every social and economic level in the community. We merely repeated expressively a beloved image as subject and then for our public sculpture'... These individuals exercised their rights as citizens to voice their concerns with public policy in an aesthetic - expressive manner, free of intimidation by the educational backgrounds, economic status, or social standing of those with whom they were in conflict. (pp. 50 - 51)

The postmodern condition calls for the acquisition of voices and freedom of expression by subordinated people. The Lima art students and their teacher represent the lack of these valued voices and freedom of expression by subordinated and marginalised people in all parts of the world. If art has to reflect people's cultural issues and histories, and thus offer useful contribution to cultural identity constructions, it has to be based on the communities in question. It needs to be created by them and speak for them. The people have to be given the chance and clear and ample space to speak for themselves about their economic and cultural issues. The Lima incidence rightly questions the freedom of the oppressed and marginalised people, who are directly or indirectly deprived of their "genuine" voices (here realising that within any oppressed group or culture you always find spokespeople who initiate and lead the struggle against all sorts of subordination and oppression.) Any art work, regardless of its professional quality, that is locally created by the people within a particular society (and in this case, the Lima people) and that which fairly speaks about their cultural heritage, is much better and more meaningful than any professionally executed by an alien and which is hardly grounded in their culture. Discussing the essence of art in peoples culture, Blandy continues:

> This reafirmation of public debate reacts to the current trend in which decision

> by citizens is discouraged and replaced by decision making by specialists in narrow fields of endeavor. In the case of the Lima sculpture competition, decisions were made by art specialist schooled in a fine-art or high-art tradition as interpreted and reinforced by Art Association bureaucrats.... Citizens are confined to narrow realms of influence and have virtually no voice or ability to make known their opinions in the vast majority of decisions that affect their lives. (p. 51)

Postmodernism aims at bringing art to the people instead of leaving it confined to the elite few. Art needs to stop being regarded as an exclusively object of pleasure. Art has to go out of museums and the four cornered walls of wealthy people's homes and start intermingling with and speaking for the people in public. In this sense popular art and thence popular culture requires to be developed, valued and popularized even more. Art can not fully serve the people if it does not live with them. How can people understand art that is alien to their day-to-day activities? The people have to be allowed, encouraged and informed on how to be both makers and users of their own art. Students in schools and the general public have to be introduced to the language of art, so that they can fully make use of it. And the best way to understand art and its language is to live with it - and make such art part and parcel of peoples lives.

jagodzinski (1997) points out the importance of popular culture in society. jagodzinski however does not propose the abandonment of high-Westernized art. What he sees possible is the presence of a fair existence of both types of art - without one intimidating or displacing the other. jagodzinski relates:

> ...it seems highly unlikely that teachers of art will 'abandon' the fine arts tradition, i.e. the western canon of 'great works of art' and re-write their programs with a focus strictly on popular culture. I am not advocating for such an abandonment as much as a 'disaffiliation' and re-evaluation of the embedded Euroamerican narcissism by privileged 'white' participants (self included) in a multicultural art education which requires an awareness of one's social positioning.

As jagodzinski cautions, high art - art that is firmly grounded in modernist principles of elitism and racism can still be a carrier and silent propagator of western values of imperialism and containment of the Other. For that matter its continued incorporation in the postmodern society and schooling system needs to be closely looked into and re-evaluated. Studio based high art should not be left to overpower popular community based art - art that speaks openly about and for the people. The teaching of community based art requires to be pushed up the ladder of academics so that it is well valued, accepted and incorporated within art, schools, universities and academies. Postmodern art institutions have to realize the importance and strength of popular culture and hence popular art in our fast changing societies.

An example of the importance of emphasizing culturally relevant and informative art is shown by Taylor (1995). Taylor discusses how a postmodern North American artist, Todd Ayoung, successfully uses his art to question sensitive and controversial contemporary social issues. Taylor contends:

> An artist, curator and theorist of New York's contemporary art scene, Todd Ayoung is challenging the art world (and its accompanying liberal ideology of 'multiculturalism') with his conceptual art works which focus on the interplay of image and text, while addressing the problems of identity and difference... Ayoung selects his imagery from the visual culture of 19th century European American imperialism as a reminder that the history of the 'New World' is inextricably linked to the phenomena of genocide and imperialism. While the sort of imagery found in old popular science, history and geography books seems more bluntly racist than the insidious racism of today's textbooks, one can still discern faint echoes of the same old racist myths in contemporary scholarship. Leafing trough a copy of *Warren's Common - School Geography Textbook* (Philadelphia, 1877), Ayoung journeys into the heart of *whiteness*. A double-page spread, of text and illustrations, depict the 'States of Society' in the following order:
>
> 'Savage' ('The American Indians, and many of the Negro tribes of Africa, and all the native tribes of Australia are savages.')
>
> 'Barbarous' ('The wandering tribes who inhabit the great plateaus of Central

> Asia, the Bedouins of Arabia and the Tuaricks, and some of the Moorish tribes of Northern Africa belong to this class.')
>
> 'Half-Civilized' ('Most of the half-civilized nations inhabit the Eastern continent. The Persians, Turk, Hindus, and Chinese are half-civilized.')
>
> 'Civilized' ('Most of the civilized nations belong to the Caucasian race. Nearly all the inhabitants of Europe, and their descendants in America and other parts of the world, belong to this class.') (pp. 54-63)

Concluding his comments on Ayoung's creative presentation, Taylor (Spring, 1995) continues:

> This self-serving schema used in public education, reflects the racist division of the world and the ideology of white supremacy, as codified by Gobineau in his Essay on the Inequality of Human Races (1853-55). Obscuring the faces of the representative groups with the letters T, I, M, and E, Ayoung (who is only 'Half-Civilized', according to this scheme) points to the fact that disenfranchised blacks are always fixed in the past, rather than being depicted as agents of their own histories. By focusing on an illustration from a school textbook Ayoung demonstrated the *learned* aspect of racism revealing how the representation of different 'racial' groups are usually bound up with ethnocentric values and prejudices.
>
> The art world is one of the last bastions of white privilege, and Ayoung uses art to critique the institution, by forming a theory of art which promotes a 'pedagogy of the oppressed.' (p. 63)

As already observed, the postmodern approach to art and art education is much suited to encountering the social, political and economic problems facing marginalized peoples of the world. Reading from Ayoung's postmodern art creativity it is apparent that art can be an effective tool for liberating the oppressed. Postmodern art is geared toward excavating the deep hidden roots of human oppression and suppression by fellow "super" humans.

Contemporary art is seeking to become more expressive and critical - questioning the reasons, relevance and logic behind the long standing oppression and exploitation of Third World countries by the imperialist West. Inside the imperialist-West itself, art is becoming more critical -

struggling to expose the root systems of racial, gender and class boundaries - boundaries that legitimate and spell out falsified reasons that perpetuate continued oppression of marginalized people. The same should and is actually happening inside all societies of the world, whereby art is increasingly taking a firm stand in speaking for and about the people. Wolcott (1995) offers valuable insights, relating her understanding of postmodern art. In her discernment Wolcott emphasises the close link between art, art education and society. The writer specifically stresses that contemporary art is steadily shifting from essentially being a tool of adoration and mere contemplation (especially in Western cultures) to becoming a strong source for critical dialogue and debate among audiences. Wolcott asserts:

> Postmodernism is still evolving, as are its theories of art and criticism. Art has become critical, critiquing both culture and society. It has become necessary to learn the language of the world of art and the critics in order to gain insights into contemporary works of art. The language of modernism was enclosed within the artwork, where as postmodern art seeks to be understood in the broader context of a dialogue between art work and society. Today, a work of art might be looked at as a document: What does it have to say? The art of the present is stated at a crossroads, and the tenets of modernist theories such as style, form, or aesthetic sublimity, are not the initial concern of artists... According to Foster, artists are attempting to prompt the observer to read meanings and messages in their signs and symbols rather than merely contemplating aesthetic qualities in an art object... As Foster contends, postmodernist art is concerned with the interconnections of power and knowledge not the purity of artistic mediums... Similarly issues of sexuality and gender are explicity explored in much postmodern art. (pp. 71-72)

Postmodern art aims at doing away with much of the formalist mystifications that have for long separated the viewer from works of art. Within formalist approaches, works of art have in many cases been to contain hidden meanings - meanings that have generally been "well understood" by the art critics and connoisseurs. Formalist art has usually put more emphasis on form and underplayed or completely avoided content - and in this regard -

cultural content. Followers of modern art have frequently undergraded and despised the realistic rendering of art - contending that its message and meaning is too obvious!! In this sense proponents of modern formalist art have, as a rule felt superior in being able to search and conceptualize meaning that was after all not there!! And the inability of ordinary people to conceptualize meanings in formalist art has in certain cases been due to the mere absence of such (socially relevant) meanings. This is why postmodern art is aimed at incorporating cultural meanings or messages that are relevant to the audience. This being said, it is also the absence of socially relevant meanings in formalist art that has created the present distance between society and 'high art' works. For postmodern art to be of much use to society, the separating distance between art and society has to be eliminated. And it is through associating art creativity and its meaningful communication of cultural issues - using an art language that is understandable to people that art will be brought closer to society. In other words, contemporary society needs to be the maker and user of its own art. Postmodern art has to act as a link between society and its prevalent social economic and cultural issues. But making art part and parcel of peoples' lives can not be accomplished without the firm support of decision makers and implementers of social economic, political and cultural issues in any country in the world. Governments and non-governmental organizations need to realize the importance of art and art education in our postmodern world. National institutions entrusted with the development of cultural sectors have to give due priority in supporting the development and popularization of art in society. Art education requires to also be valued and given the backing for its development and establishment in schools and colleges.

It is not surprising or overstating to say that art education is facing a hard time in most countries of the world. This problem is not only prevalent in Third World countries, like Tanzania. Art education is experiencing consistent relegation even in the most economically advanced countries like the United States of America. And when this is the case, the obstacles inhibiting the smooth advancement of art and art education are rarely economic, but rather attitudinal - essentially based on the misconception of the place and role of art in society by government and non-governmental leaders. Eisner (1992) a renown art educator, critic and theorist, discusses the contemporary and future fate of the arts and art education in the United States of America. In the present world, when postmodernism openly gives priority to cultural studies and identity, countries like the United States of America do not seem to seriously conceptualize the role of art in human existence. Eisner bitterly observes and questions:

> Providing a decent place for the arts in our schools may be one of the most important first steps we can take to bring about genuine school reform... In America 2000 the American people are presented with a reform agenda for their schools in which the arts are absent. Should they be? To provide an intelligent answer, one needs a concept of the arts and a view of the functions of education. What conception of the arts do people who shape education policy have? What image do they have of the aims of education? What kind of culture do they prize? What do they feel contributes to a life worth living? I believe that prevailing conceptions of the arts are based on a massive misunderstanding of the role of the arts in human development and education. This misunderstanding is rooted in ancient conceptions of mind, knowledge and intelligence. Collectively, these conceptions impoverish the programs of schools and education of the young. Make no mistake, the curriculum we prescribe for schools and the time we allocate to subjects show children what adults believe is important for them to learn. ... In American schools, the arts receive about two hours of instructional time per week at the elementary level and are generally not a required subject of study at the secondary level. ... A school in which the arts are absent or poorly taught is unlikely to provide the genuine opportunities children need to use the arts in the service of their own development. (pp. 591-592)

Eisner's concern for the purposeful side lining of arts education in the United States of America signals similar concerns loudly echoed by almost every country in the world. Going through the discussions of the research findings of this study one frequently hears similar complaints from art educators, cultural workers and artists. In Tanzania, art and art education are not considered as valuable subjects compared to other disciplines such as Mathematics, Geography, English, the Sciences and Design Education. In similar ways, art outside the schooling system is facing numerous obstacles that stand on its path of development. Art and art education in Tanzania do not receive enough developmental support from the National institutions concerned.

Godfrey (1992) gives us more insights into the problems facing art and art education development in contemporary society. While commenting on the place and role of art and art education in American society Godfrey relates:

> Art plays an integral role in civilizing a society and its members. If introduced early and incorporated regularly into instruction, art teaches us about our capacity to communicate ideas and feelings in a variety of modes and media; to analyze data through analogy and illustration, to accept compromise, ambiguity, and difference and positive human traits; and to construct ethical standards of judgment and action. Works of art tell us where we have been, indicate where we are, and leave evidence for future generations to examine for their own education, enlightenment, and delight.
>
> The visual arts can develop both individuality and the capacity to think clearly, to criticize premises, to speculate on assumptions, and then reason through education. All these abilities are in short supply today. We need to see ourselves clearly again and the arts are one tool for doing that. ... Through the visual arts we can directly comment on the human condition and begin to comprehend the complexities of our species and of our multicultural and multilayered society. (pp. 596-597)

Proceeding with his observation, Godfrey (1992) outlines some important suggestions which he thinks need to be adhered to in order to enhance the value and development of art and art education in American society. Godfrey continues:

> Yet I am afraid that our society has forgotten (maybe never knew) the

> civilizing message of the arts... The chronic ignorance, neglect, and demotion of art in education and in public life... is merely symptomatic of our broader loss of direction and confidence. We are becoming a society afraid of self examination, criticism and differences... And in this context art needs to be put into perspective so that our children can learn its value. They need to know why and how the longest-lasting civilizations used art to express, examine, and criticize themselves and their actions. They need to know of the power and freedom of the arts, of their ability to instruct as well as to delight. They need to know that art is a microcosm of life in that both are ongoing mental and expressive processes in which curiosity and adventure provoke discovery.
> ... To continually cheat on art is to deny the potential of human achievement. Art tracks civilization. That is its reality and its freedom. (p. 600)

Drawing from the discussions above, the role and importance of art and art education in society is hard to dispute. Art has, throughout human history, been the link between society and the environment while at the same time playing its central social communicative role within and among people. People have always used art in their continuing attempt to understand themselves and also tame the environment. Right from the stone age era, when people carved and modified stones to create hunting and defensive tools; through the feudal societies which made farming tools, to the present high-tech societies of sophisticated computer designs; art has always been part and parcel of human struggle for advancement. Leaving history aside, and closely looking at what is happening today, one wonders why we fail to realize how important art is in paving the way for our own social economic and cultural development. In contemporary life, art's contribution is visible everywhere. Starting from rural communities, and taking Tanzania as an example, art is found to be employed in making many household items and utensils. Art is used in making things like cooking pots, wooden spoons and ladles, baskets, mats, and printed textiles. Art is also behind the superb varieties of rural architectural designs. One can not pretend not to see the contribution of art and design in peoples' personal body decorations. The Masai people of Tanzania and Kenya are probably among the most creative people in the world in the field of art and design. These people create, among other things, superb art and design works for body decoration. The Masai, by using beads, leather, fibers, wires, and sea shells are able to creatively make necklaces, earrings, headbands and bangles of unimaginable quality. Although western technology is relentlessly struggling to displace local cultures in Third World countries and hence their arts - art still continues to find other grounds on which it can continue to serve both rural and urban people.

Attempting to discuss the role of art in contemporary town and city cultures is like embarking on an endless analysis that will never experience its own ending! However, citing a few notable examples can help shed light on the endless functions of art in our postmodern urban societies. Art, in the form of design, because of its more planned, rather than intuitive processes, is actually behind the success and failure of many, if not all, commercial ventures and enterprises. Art is always behind the advertising and selling of our contemporary packaged products. Manufacturers and marketing industries enter into fierce selling competitions through the medium of art and design. Why are the Japanese doing well in selling their industrial products all around the world? Is it not because of the good quality of their commodities, *which are carefully and intelligently* incorporated with high quality design? Going into any departmental store one can not fail to see how various products compete for selling in front of our eyes. Because of this obvious and fierce competition, people frequently end up buying things they do not immediately require or even buying cheap quality products which happen to be incorporated with much more appealing art and design presentations. More still, the wonders of architectural designs, which have their roots in art can well be experienced in all towns and cities in the world.

The clothing and fashion industry is without saying, based on the foundations of art. What about the cars we ride and drive? What about the airplanes we fly in and easily cross continental borders? What about the shapes of computers, computer monitor and in built accessories? What about the art and design activities in the publishing industries? What about the children's toy industry? Could the toy industry thrive without the services of art and design? Entering into any toy store, one is virtually perplexed by the variety of designs, shapes and colors that the artist has given to these products. In all the areas mentioned above, there is always an artist or designer who works to create, shape and give the various industrial products their functional appealing visual forms and identities.

Now considering the above examples, why can people not realize that art is essential in life? Some people do not seem to easily conceptualize the very broad interwoven spectrum of art activities - activities that are always in the service of society. The role of art is always readily noticeable where ever there is human life. The social place of art is evident right from rural communities, where art is seen to serve both spiritual and secular purposes to urban areas where art for display as well as that which is for commercial purposes is predominant. Perhaps one of the most common symptomatic misconceptions is to regard design as not related to art. Many people do not seem to realize that an art base and background is always behind any designer's educational and training history. Do people think that designers are born out of no where? I, myself, am a trained artist as well as a graphic designer. I can not visualize myself training as a designer without any educational background in art. The majority of designers are trained in art and design schools and their training is *always* preceded by comprehensive training in art fundamentals. So let us give art the value it deserves and utilize its potentialities fully for the betterment of our so complex postmodern cultures. Let our postmodern governments and those who make decisions concerning social, economic, and cultural development issues realize the essence of art in society; though with a word of caution. Making art well known and accepted by the ruling class is not an easy task.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Art and Authenticity

Discussing authenticity in art is not an easy thing, since such an undertaking calls for close consideration of a variety of dissimilar social and individual personalities from differing cultural backgrounds. A critical discussion of authenticity in art would undoubtedly involve a discursive attempt to find out what is considered to be "true, genuine or real art" in a specified region or cultural setting. Since art has always been a product of human mental and physical creativity - made to serve specific human purposes, its authentication has also always been illusive and relative, while touching and contradicting many cultural beliefs and personalities. Is art universal or only a western invention of human creativity–and hence exclusively belonging to Western culture? Do other non-Western cultures create and own art? Who is to authenticate art? Is it the artist or creator or the buyer and user? After all, is it really necessary to authenticate art? Is it really important to establish general or universal standards of art authentication? Is authentication of non-Western art not working in favour of Western cultures i.e., Western art collectors, museum and gallery owners? Is authenticity in art an act of underdevelopment for non-Western art? Are Western connoisseurs and art valuers propagating Western cultural imperialism in non-Western countries? These are, but few of the questions that confront theorists, critics and art educators when considering the question of authenticity.

Prof. Jengo of the university of Dar-Es-salaam, discusses the question of authenticity in art by asserting that:

> Art has been in this country (Tanzania) for many, many years, As you know, art started about 50,000 years ago. The cave men painted pictures, and the reason, up to now, we know that those cave paintings or rock art in general had a cultural significance during that time. So coming to the present period, that is from the colonial time, up to now, we find that art in many ethnic groups has a purpose and has a function. We don't even have to discuss about Makonde art. We know that many art in the tribal societies, you know, was intended to fulfill a purpose. ...Now going back to our question of the function of art in Tanzania or whether art has something to do with national identity; I must say this: that there has been a misunderstanding among many scholars that has led to many misinterpretations of art in Africa. Most people look at art; traditional art; and link it to African culture. Some people think that art produced by people in the rural areas is true art. But art produced in urban areas has been contaminated through cultural interaction. So we find that there is this misunderstanding. You go to the United States, there is the National Museum of African art. But what you find there is the art from ethnic groups - in the traditional style. Some people call this traditional African art, some people say 'no, this is African art.' (Interview response).

As Prof. Jengo relates, the authenticity of African art has always been under discussion. And much of such debate has first centered on whether "traditional African art" deserves the right to be regarded as the only authentic art form in Africa. Or whether there is, in the first place, anything like "traditional African art" - an art form that remains static and does not, in any way, respond to social economic and cultural changes. Second, academic dialogue (Lane, 1988; Kasfir, 1992) has been questioning as to whether contemporary art in Africa can, as well, be accepted as part of an authentic African art form. (Vogel and Nettleton, 1985) Other people have been questioning the validity of the term "tourist art", with regard to African art. Writers (Lane, 1988; Kasfir, 1992) have, for example, been asking whether their is really any "tourist art" in towns and cities, as opposed to contemporary or popular art. Also, in similar academic discourses, theorists, critics and art educators (Steiner, 1995; Clifford, 1988; Araeen, 1987) have been questioning the issue of meaning in the arts of Africa. Who creates meaning in such arts? Is it the artists or the clients? Here we refer to both local and foreign clients). Is it the local art traders (middle men) or foreign art collectors who create meaning in the arts of Africa? Or is it the Western museums and galleries that are responsible for the meaning in African art? Kasfir (1992) starts his discussion on authenticity in African Art by posing the question of meaning making and who really determines authenticity in African art.

> Two questions are central to this debate: who creates meaning for African art? And who or what determines its cultural authenticity? The authenticity issue has been raised many times in the pages of this journal, but I want to examine it specifically in the light of the current discussion of cultural appropriation since in the past it has been reviewed in terms of fakes, forgeries, and imitations – terms that themselves are heavily laden with the weight of earlier ideas about African art and culture, most specifically the primacy of 'traditional society.' ...'traditional society' and by extension, 'traditional art' is a legacy of our Victorian past, owing as much to nineteenth-century Romanticism and the social - evolutionary notion of disappearing cultures as to any reality found in Africa itself. (p. 41)

According to Kasfir, the nature of African art has been misunderstood. The cultures of Africa have, through history, undergone changes. There were changes in African cultures before and after Western invasion of the continent. African cultures have never at any moment in time been static. Like other cultures in the rest of the world, African cultures, and hence societies, have always been responding to all sorts of social economic and political changes. In this regard, the arts, of Africa, invaluably forming a central pillar in social economic, political and cultural development, have as well been undergoing changes. Now if change is inevitable for any living culture, how do we expect the arts of Africa – those arts that are now labeled by Western authorities as "authentic" to remain fixed in the past? Have not the Benin or Ife societies of West Africa undergone social economic and political transformations since colonial invasion and even after their political independence from Western domination? No one confronted by this question would not fail to see the enormous development that has taken place within these cultures.

The same is true with the Makonde cultures of Tanzania and Mozambique. Now, as Prof. Jengo and Kasfir point out, the notion of associating "authenticity" in African art with the past has been, and still is, an exclusively Western construction. The West regards true and genuine African art to be that which was created at a time prior to Western invasion of Africa through Christianity, colonialism and trade. Kasfir (1992) realizes this inherent problem of the West not seeing or pretending not to see any occurrence of development in "authentic" African art. Kasfir contends:

> The idea that before colonialism, most African societies were relatively isolated, internally coherent, and highly integrated has been such a powerful paradigm and so fundamental to the West's understanding of Africa that we are oblidged to retain it even when we now know that much of it is an oversimplified fiction. In African art studies our most uncritical assumption has been the before/after scenario of colonialism, in which art before colonialism, occurring in most places from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century, exhibited qualities that made it authentic (in the sense of untainted by Western intervention). Most crucially it was made to be used by the same society that produced it. In this scenario art produced within the colonial or postcolonial context is relegated to an awkward binary, opposition; it is inauthentic because it was created after the advent of a cash economy and new forms of patronage from missionaries, colonial administrators, and more recently, tourists and the new African elite. (pp. 41-42)

The development of contemporary African art has to a greater extent been retarded due to its classification as inauthentic by many Western theorists, critics, connoisseurs, art dealers, and museum curators. As pointed out above, the West has, as a rule, recognized true and genuine African art to be that which has not had any of their influence. Such an attitude of thinking has by far sidelined much of the high quality contemporary art works being created in all corners of Africa. As previously noted, prior to this Western domination and persistent influence, African art was being created with a purpose - and this purpose was always in response to specific societal needs.

In these traditional African cultures, art was an indisputable means of communication. For instance, art was frequently created for spiritual and healing purposes. Through art, the living were able to communicate with the dead. Sculptures were created and spiritually empowered to accommodate ancestral spirits - spirits that could be lasting guardians of the communities. Everyone in the communities was closely dependent on art. Through the medium of art, people could consult their spiritual world for explanations on, for instance, the causes of poor health and the unexplained epidemics and calamities in the community. Consultations could as well be done in search for the reasons behind a poor harvest and hence hunger. Through the use of art, people could plead for their spiritual ancestors to bring rain and stop the occurrence of life threatening floods. On other occasions, art could also be used in thanking through sacrifices and other offerings, the good will of spirits and ancestral figures for bringing to the community things like prosperity, peace and health. For example, the Bambara people of Mali in West Africa used to perform the Chiwara antelope dance in praying for their ancestors to bring fertility to their land for productive farming and good harvesting. The Makonde people of Tanzania used to perform the lipiku masked dance. In dancing the Makonde believed the lipiku mask transformed the dancer into a guardian spirit - a spirit that was expected to guard initiates during adulthood life. Kasfir (1992) discusses Makonde art: Some carvers continue to make mapiiko (plural) masks for initiation rituals while fashioning *binadamu* or shetani-figures for sale to foreigners (p. 51.)

Art was also extensively used in portraying leadership and status in society. Many African cultures, such as those of Benin and Ife in West Africa had highly developed courtly art that in many ways portrayed and represented the King's and Queen's courtly status and other royal activities.

In the absence of art, the King and Queen could not fully express the nature and powers of their empire. In the royal court, art works, such as king's and queen's head dresses, ceremonial seats, and bodily adornments ranging from beadworks, costly royal garments to expensive pure gold and silver jewelry, were of crucial importance. The royal palace was also constructed and decorated with high quality art works. Honour and Fleming (1984) in their analysis of African art show the remarkable development of art in the African continent prior to Western domination.

> As we have already seen very fine examples of West African sculpture survive from the early Nok culture ...from probably the ninth-to tenth century Ife... The art of brass sculpture was practiced at the court of the obas in benin... from the fifteenth century until the city was sacked by a British punitive expedition in 1897 and its treasures were dramatically revealed to the world. ...In the kingdom of Asante, which rose to power and wealth in the eighteenth century, a secular art of small - scale sculpture flourished. Here little weights, for measuring gold dust, were cast in brass in the form of lively human figures and animals. Some appear to illustrate proverbs and thus have a verbal or narrative content comparatively rare in African art. But in the general context of west African sculpture the bronzes of Ife and Benin are also exceptional in their naturalism, as well as being examples of a court art in an enduring medium. The majority of works were connected with popular religious cults and magic practices and appear to have been of iron, which soon rusts away in the tropics, or of wood, which usually perishes in less than a century. Our knowledge of the history of this art before the nineteenth century is therefore scanty and incomplete. (pp. 557-558)

It is, however, worth noting that before foreign cultural influence art in Africa was not only confined to the service of royal courts and the spiritual life of the communities. The services of art reached all types of human occupation. In this sense, the art that was created and used by the common people was as popular as that which served spiritual and courtly purposes. Outside the spiritual and courtly life, art was extensively used in making all kinds of household items and utensils. Art was almost everything in human life. In this regard, Wembah-Rashid (1981) makes an account of pre-colonial Makonde sculpture.

> Pre-colonial Makonde sculpture was concerned with the production of art pieces relevant to its society, the most remarkable and outstanding during the ceremonies in the rites of passage that admitted boys and girls into adulthood. That aspect of art was therefore essentially religious and educational or ritualistic. The Makonde made utilitarian artistic items too by carving and decorating ladles, wooden trays, wooden basket rims, mortars and pestles, handles of various articles and wooden combs, to list only a few. They also made articles associated with social stratification eg. the carriatid stool, the walking stick, the flywhisk and the water (or bubble-hubble) smoking pipe - all used by elders of the people. For bodily decoration there were items such as lip plugs especially for women and ivory or wooden bracelets. Occasionally Makonde sculptors carved figures such as birds reptiles and various other creatures. Some of these items were placed on house tops or on some posts in their compounds. Sometimes these figures were incorporated into household furniture, utensils and tools. Their functions seem to have been both religious and secular. In one case they served the purpose of warding off evil, in another they attracted luck or boosted the morale to work harder thus symbolizing power and authority. Otherwise they were means of beautification. (p. 35)

In general, much of African art during the time of pre-Western influence is believed to have been used to mediate human action with the supernatural world. Art, in this case, was created to represent divine figures like ancestors and gods who were believed to take an exclusive part in ensuring the continuance of social stability and peace. Honour and Fleming (1984) discuss the general nature of African art before its subjection under foreign cultural influence. Under their subtitle "Primitive alternatives" the writers assert:

> The term 'primitive art' was coined at the beginning of the present century to categorize objects which had not previously been regarded in the West as 'works of art' at all, that is to say objects from areas on the margins of or beyond the cultural influence of Europe, the Near East, India, China and Japan. (pg. 547) ...Otherwise, the visual arts were practiced in Africa mainly in the context of religious rituals, which included, cults of ancestors and divine kingship, or to satisfy a need for symbols of wealth and status. Religious beliefs were localized. There was no unifying religion with a clearly defined iconography... African art is, furthermore, the product of many ethnic groups with their own languages. It was created with diverse social organizations ranging from small tribal communities to the centrally organized kingdoms of for instance Benin, Dahomey and Asante... Many, though by no means all, African images were created to inspire terror or wonder or to mediate with the elemental spirits, often as part of a ritual... (pg, 556-557) In Africa ... much sculptural activity was devoted to masks made to be seen as in movement as

> part of a ceremonial, often accompanied by music. They were worn in rites with various purposes, to gain security and survival, fertility and increase of food supply in a world where uncertainty was always a menacing presence, and to ensure the continuity and stability of a social group of initiating the young into its ancestral traditions and preserving its myths by dramatic presentation. (p. 561)

Sefa Dei (1994) as well, shows the place of Art in African cultures prior to Western influence.

> Religion and spirituality have always been a major part of the daily lives of African peoples. The African worldview centered around an intimate understanding and appreciation of the relationship between humans, society, and nature. Traditional African cultures spiritualized their universe and endowed the forces that threatened them with supernatural powers... By doing so they hoped to establish some sort of communion with the supernatural world and thereby be able to relate to the universe. Indigenous African ontologies expressed the essence of the relationship of the individual to society and to nature. Most things in the natural world are imbued with spirits. These spirits gave power and meaning to whatever the African did. For example, in the representation of the body in African sculpture and in other art works, spirits were said to move and guide the artisan's hand. The finished product therefore took on a new meaning in itself... All carved objects possessed some power of social, symbolistic, and religious significance. (pg. 13) ...An important area in which most Africans established communion with the "spiritual" world was through the veneration of ancestors. This indigenous African religious and philosophical belief was based on the two related notions of life after death, and a continuity or linkage between the world of the living and that of the dead. The dead were venerated and respected, for Africans believed that their dead ancestors guide and keep an eye over the behaviour of the living kith and kin. Ancestors were said to sanction good or appropriate behaviour while punishing those who deviated from society... As Africans remembered the dead and paid homage to them (eg. giving gifts and pouring libation), they were conscious of the fact that these ancestors were watchdogs of their society. All this served as a potent force in the social conduct of Africans as they struggled with the fundamental problems of everyday living. Through the combination of the African respect for gerontocracy, a belief in the power of ancestors, and the 'pressure' of the community censorship, traditional Africa maintained law and order in its communities. (p. 14)

Following the above analysis it is clear that art had occupied a central place in African cultures prior to Western influence and domination. The nature and kind of such foreign cultural influences has been noted in some of the preceding chapters. In these preceding discussions, the introduction of foreign religions, such as Christianity and Islam together with colonialism are noted to have been the most influential in transforming the cultures and hence the arts of Africa. Cultural values that came with religion and colonialism are seen to have caused the greatest initial impact in setting off the ongoing process of distablising African social economic, political, and cultural life. Even though it is known that Africa had previous contacts with foreign cultures through trade with the Mediterranean, Middle and far East countries, such contacts had not been as wide spread and culturally devastating. It is these foreign cultural values and influences that triggered the down fall of traditional African art. Going deeper into the nature of these foreign influences which led to the continued relegation of African culture and its arts, it is worth quoting Balandier (1966). Discussing the effects of foreign cultural influence in Guinea, West Africa, Balandier relates:

> This decline of the gods follows the direction of those forces which are transforming Kona society. Tribal wars have disappeared to make room more insidious conflicts; the initiatory enclosures have been momentarily deserted foreign beliefs have been imported together with methods of therapy; traditional authorities have grown weaker and the people, tempted by the opportunities opening up all over the country, have crossed once forbidden frontiers. If the fabric of relationships created by the choreography of the masks is becoming as threadbare as an old garment, it is because the old social pattern itself is dying in favour of other forms. The society of the maskers is tending more and more to become a kind of museum, a source of evidence. It serves to idealize a past which helps Kono peasants to resist foreign influences (ours) which are less and less tolerated. It constitutes the arthices of a people who since they have no knowledge of writing, have not been able to record their history in libraries. in it one can still trace the old moral and political codes which the sacred figures were supposed to enforce. (p. 112)

The sacred guardian gods progressively lost their meaning and popularity with the introduction of foreign cultural values. Western cultural values, orchestrated by Christianity and colonialism, strategically worked against the local African beliefs - beliefs that saw the presence of supernatural powers in gods, ancestor figures and other divine bodies. In the same way, African art that was created to mediate the function of these spiritual powers in the communities, progressively lost its potent value. An art that once linked all sorts of human activities started getting sidelined and secularized. Handmade household artistic items similarly lost value with the introduction of foreign industrially produced products. Wooden and shell spoons were replaced by those made of steel. Wooden dishes together with gourd and clay items were likewise left aside for imported alternatives, such as chinaware. Under such circumstances the functions of the African artists or artisans were similarly subjected to continuous threats--threats that were real and in many instances led to their eventual decline. Mazrui (1994) looks into the way both Islam and Christianity have affected African aesthetics.

> This tense relationship between Islam and African aesthetics has its roots in pre-Islamic Mecca, where idols were worshipped in the very places where Muslims today circumambulate the Ka'aba. According to Islamic tradition, the Prophet Muhammad himself later destroyed some of those idols with his own hands. They were the Islamic equivalent of graven images. In order to discourage the return of idolatry, art forms such as sculpture and painting became circumscribed to all Muslims in terms of what they could represent on canvas or in plastic forms. In time, according to some schools of Islam, to paint an animal was regarded as an attempt to imitate God...(pg. 50-52) Fear or neglect of African indigenous ritual is not peculiar to Islam as a tradition... But Islam and missionary Christians have also distrusted African dance for reasons unconnected with idolatry: for its presumed nearness to sexuality and sometimes for the gender division of labor expressed in some of the dances. ...In the case of Christian missionaries the distrust of the dance sometimes resulted in strict Westernized discipline in missionary schools, and the distrust of African styles of dress did sometimes lead to special innovations to satisfy the rules of Christian modesty. Islamic rules of dress have often been even more severe for women. On the dance floor and in sculpture and in painting, the Islamic aesthetics and African aesthetics have therefore often diverged. (p. 53)

On the side of religion, as noted above, both Christianity and Islam were equally fearful of the power of African culture. African culture to them was not a culture worth of existing. With such beliefs, both Islam and Christianity scrambled for the displacement of African cultures - cultures that went against their religious beliefs. Both religions continue up to the present moment - to scramble for their supremacy in Africa and in other countries of the world. Balandier (1966) illustrates the devastating effects of Christianity that was by then being backed, protected and supported by the colonial powers. The writer tells a touching story which he had experienced during his cultural expeditions in Africa. Balandier narrates:

> Fires lighted to the greater glory of God are contagious, and fascinate the Negro founders of those 'separatist' churches which I was later to encounter in the Congo; it is as though their spirit were projected outward upon anything that resists their campaign of spiritual conquest. History tells us of their incendiary rage in Angola as early as 1872 in a movement justly named Kiyoka, from Yoka, the act of burning. They continue to appear sporadically in the Congolese zone. One day in March, 1950 when I was about sixty miles from Brazzaville I suddenly found myself in front of a still-smoking fire on which were lying several half -burned statuettes and some amulets which had been reduced to ashes. The new prophet had fled upon hearing of my arrival. He had just laid down the precept. We must renounce the fetishes of our fathers' and the last vestiges of the ancient art were being slowly consumed. In their struggle against idols, the instigators of religious dissidence, some of whom find justification in a passage from Leviticus, rival the first missionaries in zeal. (p. 114)

Apart from the destructive effects of Christianity narrated above, Balandier (1966) goes on to expose the French Colonial powers' destructive behaviour. The French, Balandier reports, conquered the kingdom of Dahomey and there after, a vast number of precious artworks vanished. The French did not want the artworks that had previously been holding the communities together continue to survive and thrive. So as to give room for their new colonial power structures and their supportive Christian religion, the art works had to go; and literally, they made them vanish!!

The destructive nature of all colonial powers to the cultures of the people they rule and possess like objects is evidenced in Ngugi wa Thiong'o's (1987) down to earth discussion. In discussing the devastating intentions and actions of colonial powers, and their close companion and ally, the Word of God, when destroying African cultures, wa Thiong'o vividly describes the way colonialism hated and feared African cultural values, which in its thinking was detrimental to colonial stability. Contentiously, wa Thiong'o relates:

> Drama has origins in human struggles with nature and with others. In pre-colonial Kenya, the peasants in the various nationalities cleared forests, planted crops, tended them to ripeness and harvest – out of the one seed burred in the ground came many seeds. Out of death life sprouted, and this through the mediation of the human hand and the tools it held. So there were rites to bless the magic power of tools. There were other mysteries: of cows and goats, and other animals and birds mating – like human beings – and out came life that helped sustain human life. So fertility rites and ceremonies to celebrate life oozing from the earth, or from between the thighs of humans and animals. Human life itself was a mystery: birth, growing up and death, but through many stages. So there were rituals and ceremonies to celebrate and mark birth, circumcision or initiation into the different stages of growth and responsibility, marriages and the burial of the dead. But see the cruelty of nature: there were droughts and floods threatening devastation and death. The community shall build wells and walls. But the Gods need propitiation. More rituals. More ceremonies. The spirits and the gods were of course invisible but they could be represented by masks worn by humans. Nature, through works and ceremonies, could be turned into a friend... It was the British colonialism which destroyed that tradition. The missionaries in their proselytising zeal saw many of these traditions as works of the devil. They had to be fought before the bible could hold sway in the hearts of the natives. The colonial administration also collaborated. Any gathering of the natives needed a license: colonialism feared its own biblical saying that where two or three gathered, God would hear their cry. Why should they allow God above, or the God within the natives to hear the cry of the people? many of these ceremonies were banned: like the *Ituika*, in 1925. But the ban reached massive proportions from 1952 to 1962 during the Mau Mau struggle when more than five people were deemed to constitute a public gathering and needed a license. (pp. 36-37.)

Apparently, colonialism went to Africa and other continents to stay – stay for good. Colonialism went to Africa not to help the Africans transform their lives in their own positive African way. The colonialists, together with their "humble" ally; the bible, went to Africa with a hidden, but sure, agenda – to totally transform the African cultures into genuine copies of their respective Western colonial masters' models. Such cultural transformation would make the African subject submissive and hence willingly allow the foreign master to peacefully continue to occupy rule and exploit Africa. This contention is indisputable, since many colonial powers found it difficult and unfair for them to relinquish their colonial powers in Africa. Some of them even used extensive and prolonged military offensive power in their relentless attempts to continue occupying, ruling and exploiting Africa. Examples of countries like Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, and South Africa are hard to dispute and forget. In Africa, colonialism and foreign religion initiated and forcibly instigated cultural changes that in many ways made and continue to make Africans abandon and lose much of their previous cultural knowledge together with its many ways of knowledge seeking and knowing

However, as previously noted, these strong statements against colonialism and foreign religions do not in any way overrule the many advantages that African countries, and Tanzania, in particular, have since gained, and continue to gain from foreign cultures. Modern systems of education, health facilities like modern medicine and hospitals together with all sorts of foreign technology, have made vast developmental contribution throughout Africa and other previously colonised continents. But such contributions, however precious, do not nullify the bad effects of colonialism and foreign religion that have in many ways, altered the face of Africa. In this regard, therefore, we are oblidged to ask ourselves the following questions: How was art authenticity affected by incoming foreign colonial cultures? Why is contemporary African art generally regarded as inauthentic by foreign viewers, critics and collectors? Is inauthenticity presently linked with contemporary art from Africa a genuine contention or a mere racist misconception and misinformation of the prevailing picture of the arts of Africa?

Due to misconstructed understanding of what is authenticity in the arts of Africa, art critics, dealers and collectors from the West have frequently by-passed quality contemporary African art - often degrading it as inauthentic, highly tainted with Western cultural values of taste and desire. But why is all this so? The reasons behind this disregard of contemporary art from Africa, seen as inauthentic, has its roots right form the onset of colonialism and foreign religions in the African continent. As already noted, through Ngugi wa Thiong'o and many others, colonialism and foreign religion deliberately and openly prevented the continued development and flourishing of African cultural values that were thought to be hindering the introduction of colonial together with Christian and Islamic culture. In this way the arts were the first to be confronted since they formed the central pillars of African cultures. Concerning Islam, Mazrui (1994) has the following to say regarding his early childhood experiences:

> Many centuries after the entry of Islam into Africa, a little Kenyan boy was caught up in this tension. My father caught me drawing a human figure, and he said, 'If you are called upon to make the human figure live on the day of Judgement, will you be able to do so?' I was a theoretical question of course: would I be able to give my doodling a soul? I confessed my impotence in that regard, and to my father the conclusion was clear: It was not to paint or draw living things from then on. I could draw the mango but not the mango tree; I could draw the shoe, but not the shoemaker. That was his version of this deep distrust of idolatry. In a way it was a very profound tribute to art to say that "live" art was so creative that it amounted to an imitation of God. (pp. 52-53)

While reflecting on the above discussion, I need to comment shortly on my own understanding of the term "authenticity" in relation to art. To me (the dictionary definition) of "authenticity" as related to or referring to something "genuine" or "real" or that which is not tainted by something considered alien, is very problematic when used in valuing art. The term becomes even more disturbing when it is used to "internationalised" or "universalise" the standards of art valuing or "connoisseurship." The term "authenticity" is always highly slippery and illusive when used with reference to human creativity. Human creativity in art is a result of endless social sharing and re-sharing of knowledge and creative knowhow. It is for this reason that art creativity is normally grounded in local aesthetics and socio-economic and cultural history of the society in question. It is my understanding that any art form does possess standards of valuing its relevance and aesthetic qualities relating to its roles or services in society. But it also needs to be emphasized that these creative value standards are never static. These creative value standards of art, relating to the socio-economic and cultural relevance of its form, content and style are always and should always change with time. For this matter, the best people to value art are the users and the people who create it. Arising from this, the best valuers of the arts from Africa or those from any other continent are the artists themselves and the people for whom these arts are created. People from one continent or society will not be doing any good by being or posing as the principle or the only valuers "connoisseurs" of other people's art or artistic creative standards. Art creative values, social desires and standards of "authentication" can never be universal. "Authenticity" in art and art creativity is best to be locally valued and determined. Foreign imposed value standards are just another form of cultural imperialism and containment of the Other by the "superior".

12.1 Authenticity and Modernist Appropriation

With the onset of colonialism and the establishment of foreign religions in Africa, art in Africa *(here the term Africa is used while being aware that the African continent is not in any way culturally and socially homogeneous. Africa, like any other continent, has many ethnic groups that* *exibit dissimilar and highly diversified cultures and hence identities.)* was progressively put behind the scene, especially by the Western audience. During the early years of Western invasion, art works in Africa were regarded by Westerners as non-art worthy; devoid of any aesthetic or meaningful functional value. Valuable sculptures such as those of the Bini, Senufo, Ife, Ashanti, Dogon; Ibo and Ibibio of West Africa or those of the Bakuba and Baluba of Central Africa, together with the dance masks of the Makonde people of Tanzania and Mozambique were then seen as childish works of "primitive people." During these early times of colonial and religious cultural influence in Africa and Tanzania in particular, Africans were believed by Westerners to be "too primitive" to be artists of any kind. Similar negative thinking towards African art creativity can be echoed even in very recent Western writings. Imperato (1982) gives us a hint of this type of negative mentality. In his analysis of the art involved in constructing Luo Shields by the Luo people of Tanzania, Imperato relates:

> As recently as 1971, one historian described the artistic accomplishments of the Luo (Lwoo) with these words: "Their imaginations were vivid but not creative. They possessed virtually no art"... Such a summary judgement about any people is always suspect. It is especially inaccurate for the Luo, who have produced a material culture that contains a striking array of both utilitarian and ritual objects made of iron, wood, clay, leather and vegetable fibers. ... One such object is the decorated shield, an art form that is poorly known and rapidly disappearing under the triple influences of Westernization, Christianization, and purposeful government policies and attitudes. (p. 73).

In Western academic circles "primitive" Africans have frequently been judged to have no talent in art and even lacking the intellectual capability required to be artists. Artists in Africa and especially those prolific sculptors and carvers, who for many centuries before foreign invasion, served the African people, have been mercilessly regarded as poor in mental creativity; non artistic, only existing as mere faithful copiers of works that have been set and defined by tradition, generation after generation. These sculptors and carvers together with many types of artists have thus been classified as artisans and not artists. Price (1989) points out this Western attitude of not seeing artists in what they term 'primitive' African cultures. In discussing the question of anonymity in the arts of 'primitive' people Price contends:

> The denial of individual creativity is sometimes expressed in somewhat bold generalizations. Henri Kamer for example, declares that in Africa 'there are no individual creative artists. ...(The African artist) produces masks and fetishes according to the needs of the moment, always by order of tribal elders and never on impulse as would any conventional artist.' ...From this perspective any given artist's identity loses its value, because his relation to the production of art is the same as the workers relation to the assembly-line. ...Over several years I have brought up this alleged question of anonymity with numerous 'primitive art' lovers. ...One collector went to great lengths to tell me of the keenness of the connoisseur's eye, describing in detail the nature of the aesthetic considerations he makes, the role of subjectively, etc. When he had finished talking, I asked him whether, in his opinion, the creator of a 'primitive' work of art might, on occasions, be aware of the things he had just pointed out. His response was immediate and categorical: 'Certainly not!' 'The creator of this sort of object,' he said, 'will only be interested in the way it is crafted and in its conformity to communal standards; he will not be able to appreciate its artistic merit, the discovery of which depends on its being seen by a Western connoisseur.' Or, in the words of *Henri Kamer*, 'the *object* made in Africa ... only becomes an *object of art* on its arrival in Europe.' (pp. 67-70)

Also discussing this Western attitude towards African art and artists Araeen Rasheed (1987) points out:

> It is commonly believed that African peoples themselves were not aware of the aesthetic qualities of what they were producing and that it was the West which 'discovered' these qualities and gave the African 'objects' the status of art. It is true that Africans did not write books on aesthetics, plasticity or formalism (or whatever relates to art), but to deduce from this that African artists were not aware of what they were doing is to indulge in the kind of stupidity which can only result from a mental blockage or an intellectual dishonesty. Even a cursory study of various world cultures shows us that ritual itself does not demand the kind of formal complexity and perfection we find in many African works. (p. 12)

Due to such a wide spread disregard of African art and its artists, the existence of such art together with its profound aesthetic and functional values remained virtually unknown in Western circles until about the beginning of the 20th century. By the beginning of the 20th century, Western art was already experiencing extensive changes in its style. By this time many Western philosophers, artists, theorists and critics were revolting against the dominance of all forms of naturalism and for this case, in the arts and architecture. People were now questioning the predominance of naturalist styles that were so popular during such periods, after the Renaissance. Instead of artists faithfully representing nature as a mirror image, new avenues were now being sought for whereby artists would be freed to express their individual inner feelings in the process of their artistic creativity. Notable proponents of such new thinking were people like the psychologist Sigmund Freud with his theories of psychoanalysis, together with artists like Pablo Picasso; Emil Nolde; Henri Matisse; Georges Braque and Vassily Kandinsky. Honour and Fleming (1984) discuss these changes.

> By the beginning of the 20th century the revolt against all forms of naturalism was in full swing and the decade before the First World War was to be one of the most daring and adventurous in the whole history of Western art. Fundamentally new ideas and methods were put forward – in painting, sculpture and architecture, in literature and music and in philosophy and science as well – and the radical innovations of these years underlie all later developments, even today. Two opposing tendencies which had been increasingly felt towards the end of the nineteenth century, the subjectivism of the symbolists and the objectivism and transcendent 'otherness' sought by Cezanne, were intensified and explored ever more self-consciously. Each was to be taken to its ultimate extreme, bringing to an end artistic traditions going back to Giotto and the early 14th century. Already by about 1912 the limits had been reached in one direction with the first completely abstract work of art. Artists then found themselves confronted by an insoluble dilemma as they oscillated frantically between the cult of pure form and the cult of inner truth- though the dilemma was more apparent than real. (p. 564)

This urge for change compelled people like artists, scientists, philosophers, theorists and musicians to search for new ways of understanding human nature. Thinkers wanted to know more about human behaviour and especially how people could express their inner feelings. This search for new ways of understanding human behaviour came at a time when Sigmund Freud published his influential work *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900). Freud's assertion that human behaviour could be understood through the study and understanding of people's inner feelings and unconscious urges was very influential in all spheres of learning. Honour and Fleming (1984) again point out these influences:

> The search for new ways of looking at the world, combined with the urge to break down all accepted conventions and preconceptions, is characteristic generally of the period around the turn of the century. ...Freud's revolutionary theories about the role of the subconscious, especially of the sexual urge, transformed early 20th century attitudes and values. His emphasis on the importance of understanding the instinctual side of man's nature, his assertion that the emotions and sensations, especially the unconscious urges, are more important than rational thought as a key to human behaviour, were to have profound effects in the arts no less than in other fields. (p. 564)

This search for new ways of understanding nature, made Western artists of the time even more adventurous. Instead of artists remaining conservative and inward looking they started opening their eyes and minds onto other cultures, to see and understand how other people treated artistic creations. Such adventures directed the minds of Western artists to closely exploring what was then often derogatorily referred to as "primitive" cultures of other continents such as Africa, Asia and the Americas. Western artists of the time, such as Pablo Picasso and his contemporaries came to realize that styles in African art allowed for freedom of expression of the artist and that such artistic rendering was quite in line with the demands of change they were then confronted with. These artists came to realize that African abstract expression in art was allowing for more inner freedom of expression of the artist compared to, for instance, the naturalistic and realistic styles of Western European art after the Renaissance. Honour and Fleming (1984) continue to elaborate on this new recognition of African creative thinking.

> This climate of ideas naturally favoured primitivism... As a result, artists now become aware for the first time of primitive art as 'art', all the more stimulating for being so completely at odds with Western traditions. ...But in their search for directness and immediacy of instinctual response, artists increasingly turned away from civilized 'fine art' in favour of the primitive especially 'Negro' sculpture (Africa was not distinguished from Oceanic)... By 1915 African sculpture was being claimed as among the greatest ever created. As Braque, an artist little influenced by it overtly, confessed: 'Negro masks also opened a new horizon for me. They permitted me to make contact with instinctive things, direct manifestations that ran counter to a false, traditionalism which I abhorred.' (p. 564)

In response to these massive influences from other cultures, many Western artists started learning directly from African sculptures. This was the first time in the history of mankind that art from Africa was recognized as "authentic" and in fact as an art with profound superiority that had never before been seen by Westerners!! Pablo Picasso was one of those Western artists who came to recognize the indisputable expressive strengths and qualities of African art, and that it is through such timely recognition that this artist grew and developed to be recognized as a prolific genius. Picasso, like Braque, was sincere in acknowledging the enormous and decisive influence he had gained from African art.

Drawing from the above discussion, it is seen that the search for new ways of understanding nature and human behaviour that reached its intensity by the beginning of the 20th century opened up Western minds to recognize the presence and authenticity of the arts of Africa. In Western thinking, this recognition was called "discovery" (Honour and Fleming, 1984) still emphasizing the racialistic attitude that Africans and other "primitive" cultures of the world did not know what they were doing. The Africans, according to Western misconceptions, did not know that they were creating precious and meaningful artistic compositions. To them, the Africans were like robots, and hence did not possess minds well-developed to allow sophisticated and independent artistic creativity. However, as noted, this attitude started experiencing its own defeat and downfall when great and cerebrated artists like Pablo Picasso, Henri Rousseau, Henri Matisse and Georges Braque began to find meaningful inspiration and direction from this so derogatorily termed art of the "primitives." African sculptures and other works suddenly changed and became intellectual art–art that was now worthy of close reference and copying. African art, literally, showed the way towards new avenues of thinking, knowing and representing nature through the arts.

At this point, however, it is worthy emphasising that the recognition of an African art, in the West, marked as well the defining point and time, of what was latter to be judged as authentic or inauthentic in African and other non-Western art. The recognition of African art as art in Western eyes, values and desires triggered relentless desire among Western collectors, art lovers, and gallery owners to start owning this newly "discovered" authentic art of the "primitive" world. In this way, African art rapidly became popular in the West and hence its demand increased day after day. But what was African art to the Western collector? What would be the determining criteria for recognizing an authentic African art – an African art that was truely African "and not a fake"? Surprisingly, in response to these, and many other questions, Western collectors came to recognize, as a rule only pre-colonial "primitive" art as the only non-fake and hence authentic art from Africa. Any art from Africa other than that which was created exclusively to serve the "primitive," essentiatially pre-colonial societies, was classified and strongly labeled as contaminated, fake, and not purely African. The Western world saw no way that an African could successfully develop his artistic creativity beyond what they termed "the primitive level," since even at this "primitive" level, the West saw no artists among the "primitives" but only faithful copiers of traditionally laid down rules and styles!! But one still questions. Who were those ancestors who first created the initial ancestral sculptures? Were they Africans? Were they artists? Were they faithful copiers? And if they were profound copiers, from where did they copy their initial sculptures? The answer to all these questions, I will argue, is that ancestral Africans were true, prolific and authentic artists, as all Africans are today.

12.2 Authenticity and Western Connoisseiurship

Even though a wide recognition of the presence of quality and authenticity in African arts is now gaining ground, this same recognition is still essentially one-sided. As already pointed out, Western value standards do not seem to openly see authenticity in contemporary African art. It has come to be accepted in the West that contemporary African art has developed due to, and after, foreign and essentially colonial cultural contacts with Africa. In this regard, contemporary African art is widely viewed, by the West, as either foreign or fake, culturally contaminated and hence not truely African. As already noted, many Western theorists, historians, critics and their venerated connoisseurs still strongly support the belief that individual Africans can not successfully develop into reputable artists. Africans can only be trained to be good copy artisans and never reach the level of authentic artists. And this is essentially why it is yet hard for the West to imagine that Africa has come to develop and own high quality and authentic art beyond what they themselves regard as a "primitive" level of creativity. And because of such unfounded racist and misconstructed beliefs, Western collectors of art still relentlessly hunt for pre-colonial "primitive" African sculptures, carvings and other "objects of their desire" as the only authentic African art forms. It is, therefore, only this "primitive" African art that readily gains acceptance into Western museums, galleries and reputable individual collectors' possession. And it is also "primitive" African art that fetches high prices when sold in Western art markets. For this matter, the notion of authenticity in African art has been forced into a dilemma – for African art to be authentic it has, in the first place, to be "primitive" and preferably pre-colonial. It has also to be a valuable and truely collectable item, in Western value standards and desires, so as to pass as authentic. In such circumstances, all other arts of Africa are mercilessly locked out of the Western Art World. Kasfir (1992) realises this dilemma faced by the arts from Africa. Kasfir contends that:

> Ironically, what we could call canonical African art – that which is collected and displayed and hence authenticated and valorized as 'African art' – was and is only produced under conditions that ought to preclude the very act of collecting. Seen from an anticolonial ideological perspective, collecting African art is a hegemonic activity, an act of appropriation; seen historically, it is a largely colonial enterprise; and seen anthropologically, it is the logical outcome of a social-evolutionary view of the other: the collecting of specimens as a cololary of 'discovery.' Even if none of this were acknowledged, one cannot escape the internal contradiction in the working definition of authenticity - namely that it excludes 'contamination' (to continue the specimen metaphor) while at the same time requiring it in the form of the collector. (p. 42)

Authenticity in African art is thus closely linked with the colonial act of domination in Africa. Authenticity is, therefore, a hegemonic term aimed at indirectly suppressing an ongoing and free development of African art. Authenticity, in Western terms, is generally awarded to exclusively African arts that are historical in nature and only belonging to particular African cultures–and in this case "primitive" cultures. Worse still, African art can only be accepted in the West, as genuine and authentic, if it is classified as so by the Western cultures. In this regard, art valuation and connoisseurship isn't universal but Western and hence racist and purely hegemonic. Clifford (1988) expresses similar skepticism concerning such Western biased and racist recognition of some African arts as authentic while others (contemporary) are sidelined as fakes, contaminated and inauthentic. Clifford relates his views, while discussing a winter 1984-85 exhibition of "tribal objects" at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA), as:

> As we shall see, though, the scope and underlying logic of the 'discovery' of tribal art reproduces hegemonic western assumptions rooted in the colonial and neocolonial epoch. ...To tell the history of modernism's recognition of African 'art' in this broader context would raise ambiguous and disturbing questions about aesthetic appropriation of non-Western others, issues of race, gender, and power. ...Since 1900 non-Western objects have generally been classified as either primitive art or ethnographic specimens... As we shall see, the aesthetic – anthropological opposition is systematic, presupposing an underlying set of attitudes toward the 'tribal.' Both discourses assume a primitive world in need of preservation, redemption, and representation. The concrete, inventive existence of 'tribal' cultures and artists is suppressed in the process of either constituting authentic 'traditional' worlds or appreciating their products in the timely category of 'art.' (pp. 197-200)

Authenticity in African art - authenticity that is in Western beliefs and thinking, rooted in the "discovery" notion, is highly biased and quite misleading. Africa's past historical developments need to be valued by both Africans and foreigners. Why is art from western countries well-valued, recognized and authenticated all through history? Why does the West recognise the authenticity and historical development of their art while at the same time denying Africa such a similar history? Why should the West's biased recognition of authenticity in African art necessarily start with the onset of African's history of Western domination and colonialism? And why should they, (Westerners) be the only judges of what should pass or should not pass as authentic in African art. To be sincere, Africans have, through human history, demonstrated enormous abilities and potentialities in the field of art and creativity. Numerous obvious examples that substantiate

African's unprecedented wealth in art can be seen in countries like Egypt, with its amazing pyramid architectural constructions. Egypt also has enormous treasures in all types of art – from paintings on papyrus through wall paintings to fine sculptures and fabric designs. Also, as already noted, quality art works, historical as well as contemporary can be found all over Africa. Fine examples of art works, like sculptures, carvings, fibric and jewellery designs can be found among peoples such as the Senufo, the Ife, the Bini, the Yoruba, the Asante, the Baluba, the Bakuba and the Makonde. These people, by all standards, prove to be prolific and authentic artists.

12.3 Anonymity and Authenticity

Apart from "primitivism", another factor that is closely associated with Western misconceived thinking that determines authenticity in African art is the notion of *anonymity*. Throughout precolonial Africa, art works were not inscribed with the name of the artist when completed. Art works were left anonymous. This practice of artists not signing their names on completed art works is still common among many folk artists in Africa and Tanzania in particular. This practice has also come to affect the recognition of African arts' authenticity. In their attempts to find a general criteria for identifying "genuine" African art, Western critics, theorists, art collectors and connoisseurs have had anonymity as a central determining factor. Due to this Western understanding of "primitive" African art as anonymous, any authentic and collectable African art works need to be anonymous so as to successfully pass the authenticity test. This criteria, which could have worked well during precolonial Africa, is presently quite misleading. This standard of judgement does not fit well within the contemporary situation of broadly diversified African forms of art. Nowadays, Africa (and Tanzania in particular) has all forms of art works, ranging from sculptures and other art works that are made to serve ritual (religious) or secular social purposes, to purely art for displays that is occasionally found in towns and big cities like Dar-Es-Salaam. There are today, many artists in Tanzania or Africa at large who write or sign their names on completed art works.

Now if the absence or presence of the artist's signature on African artworks greatly determines authenticity, in Western terms, what is then the fate of contemporary African art that bear an artists' signature? The fact is that anonymity, as a criteria for identifying authentic African art, excludes many of the high quality contemporary African artworks. Contemporary African art works, such as sculptures, carvings, paintings, drawings and prints, art denied authenticity by the West because they are seen not to abide with the qualities and rules governing real and genuine "primitive" African art. Up to the present day, Western collectors of African art still hunt for pre-colonial "primitive" art while openly disregarding and despising contemporary art as inauthentic, fake and not genuinely African. Literally, Western collectors of African art regard anonymity as a principal determinant of quality and authenticity. Kasfir (1992) illustrates this Western biased standard of judgement.

> Far from seeing this anonymity as a result of the way African art is usually collected in the first place– stolen or negotiated through the mediation of traders or other outsiders – we have come to accept it as part of the art's canonical character. The nameless artist has been explained as a necessary precondition to authenticity, a footnote to the concept of a 'tribal style' that he has the power neither to resist nor to change... Among French dealers and collectors of African art, 'authentic' frequently means 'anonymous', and anonymity precludes any consideration of the individual creative act. One Parisian collector told Sally Price (1989:69); 'It gives me great pleasure not to know the artist's name. Once you have found out the artist's name the object ceases to be primitive art.'... And for art to be 'primitive' it must possess, or be seen to possess, a certain opacity of both origin and intention. When those conditions prevail, it is possible for the Western collector to reinvent a mask or figure as an object of connoisseurship. (p. 44)

The Western belief in anonymity as a measure of authenticity in Africa art is a sure indicator that the West sees no way that African art can undergo historical and cultural developmental changes while at the same time, continue to maintain its authenticity and superior qualities. In Western thinking, development in African art probably means death! Apparently there is no way that African art can successfully develop beyond the "primitive" stage without being tainted with poisonous deadly impurities from alien cultures. And such strong Western belief in the absence of successful historical development in African art seemingly tends to pass immediate death sentences to any contemporary newborn African art.

The West leaves no room for African art to freely undergo social economic and cultural influenced development in the same way Western art does. But why is this so? Is there any viable reason that explains why African art should be denied free and uninhibited development? Is this not an ethnocentric and racist judgement aimed at denying contemporary African art a space in the art world? Price (1989) brings forth this western legacy of denying African art by questioning the concept of history.

> For those who...think that African and Oceanic art is created by anonymous artists who are expressing *communal* thoughts by means of *instinctive* processes that take place in the *lower part of the brain*, it only requires one further step to arrive at the belief that this art has no history... Even those who try to respect the history of 'primitive art' have a certain difficulty in getting rid of the notion of its absence. Claude Roy, for example, opens his book *Arts Sauvages* with the observation that there do exist, contrary to popular opinion, 'primitive societies that possess both writing and a history,' but straight away undermines the effect of that statement by saying: 'These are not peoples with a memory.' (p. 68)

Taking part in this discussion on African art and authenticity is Prof. Jengo of the University of Dar-Es-salaam. Prof. Jengo, who is a respondent in my research relates how African art is mistreated by Western value judgements and desires. He points out that the notion of authenticity, as related especially to contemporary art, is racially judged by the West. Prof. Jengo contends:

> Many people (Westerners) thought that; 'well if you bring Western values to Africa; these educated people may tend to despise their cultural heritage.' But then, I am not sure whether I agree with this vision because there is no European way of seeing; there is no African way of seeing. I think this is a very selfish attitude on the part of the Western people. They think that Africa is defenseless from the Europeans. So if an African artist is very realistic; they think that, 'No, this is not African art;' because they used to seeing these abstract sculptures from the West African countries. So it is a stigma. It is now a stigma. If you paint well like Leonardo da Vince, people say no, that is not African, because Africans can't draw correctly. You see that? I think this is really bad and it is a very wrong attitude. We want African artists to do whatever they like. If they want to be superrealistic like a camera, they have the freedom to do so. They shouldn't worry that people are going to interpret their work as being a copy of a good piece of Western art. (Interview response)

African art needs to be allowed to develop freely and without any kind of intimidation from Western connoisseurship. Why should Western cultural norms, values and desires keep on deciding what fits to be termed as authentic African art? History tells us that Africa has always had both realistic and abstract artists. All through the African continent we have always found all kinds of art styles. For instance, in West Africa we have the very realistic Ife artists who proved their profound artistry ever since precolonial times. We also have precolonial Benin art whose style, I would say is in between abstraction and realism. In central Africa, we have the Bakuba and Baluba, whose artistic creation shows both abstract and semi-realistic rendering. In Tanzania we have the Makonde artists who can be superrealists as well as prolific abstract sculptors. So there is no reason, what so ever, for Western connoisseurship to degrade and disregard any style of African art as non-African and thus inauthentic. It is in this understanding that the African people and their cultural histories need to be valued, respected, and expected, historically, to develop in similar ways that the Westerners themselves and their cultures believe to be capable of. Kasfir (1992) continues to clearly show how the African artist is still to date viewed by the West as mentally incomplete, and hence incapable of being the valuer of his or her own works of art.

Why should African artists continue to be despised and disregarded by the imperialist West? Can't such an overdue trend be changed? In this postmodern world, the African artist (similar to that from the "centre") needs to be valued like any other creative human being. If really, postmodernism is here to create room for dignity, equality and lasting peace for and among all peoples of the world, it is then high time that the African gets recognized, by the West and the rest of the world, as a sound, able and highly creative human being. Let the African be the creator, the connoisseur, and the judge of his or her own art works. Araeen (1987) has the following to say concerning such a denied history and status for the Africans and their art. Araeen contends, when discussing the 1984-85 MOMA, "Primitivism in 20th Century Art", that:

> It is not my aim here to denounce this exhibition as merely an imperialist enterprise or turn my back on it in favour of more contingent social and political issues in the Third World. We have a responsibility to look at such cultural manifestations critically, more importantly, with a perspective which is not Eurocentric, and at the same time it should be done within the framework of contemporary practices: art, art criticism and art historical scholarship. The point is that those who have been seen as 'primitives' are in fact part of today's society and to ignore their actual position in this respect is to indulge again in imperialist fantasies... What I therefore propose, contingently, is that we should look at these works as we would do in the case of any other work in an exhibition or museum. ...The intricate and complex formal and spatial qualities of these works tell us that these works are the products of highly sophisticated and intellectually engaged minds. (pp. 11-12)

Drawing form the above discussion, it is observed that the issue of authenticity in African art is very problematic. First, it is widely believed, and actually more so, that the notion of authenticity in African art, is essentially a Western construction. It is through the historically formulated Western oriented criteria of judgement, and not otherwise, that African art is internationally classified and valued as either authentic or inauthentic. It is as well through this same biased system of valuation that most of the high quality African art is not accepted into the art world. Contemporary African art is still a much rejected entrance into the international art market and collection scene with the simplest reasons of being fake, not genuinely African, and highly tainted with foreign cultural values. It is likewise noted that this notion of authenticity, dictates the choosing or selecting of African art that is destined for either export to foreign countries or appropriation by art collectors who are in this case mostly foreigners.

But again, in my own thinking, when considering country cases, like Tanzania, the blame of unfair connoisseurship ceases to be wholly foreign. A country's internal contradictions, as those discussed above in relation to the development of art and art education in Tanzanian schools and colleges contribute markedly towards raising or lowering the local or international value of art. How can a country fairly and wholly continue to blame the Western dominated international art markets, museums, galleries and collectors for the devaluation and underdevelopment of its art, when the same country is not showing serious concern towards valuing and developing the art sector? The Western oriented system of valuing art is historical in its making and it is a critical analysis of history that can successfully change the face of this ethnocentric scheme of connoisseurship.

But then how is this history to come about? Can Tanzania, for this matter, sit back and wait for the West and other foreign countries like Japan to change the way art is valued, appropriated and marketed? It is my feeling that the struggle to elevate the value of Tanzanian art, both internally and on the international scene needs to incorporate internal as well as external forces. Tanzania, as a country, needs to start giving art the status it deserves. Foreign art lovers and collectors require to see and not hear that Tanzania does continue to create high quality contemporary art. Tanzania needs to show the world that its art development did not totally stop or die with the onset of colonialism, but continues to advance to the present date.

This internal development and promotion of art needs to be unlimited in scope and not become rigidly ethnocentric. This development has to involve educating the general public towards understanding the role and value of art in society. In educating the public, more attention requires to be directed towards administrators of relevant institutions and sectors that deal with the development of art. Art needs both development and promotion so as to come close to the people. This is especially so in contemporary societies when art is increasingly getting distanced or alienated from the daily activities of the general public.

Emphasizing the central issue of development and promotion in art, I come to remember what I personally experienced early in my teaching career. In December 1982, when I was in my third year as a faculty member with the University of Dar-Es-Salaam, I happened to participate in an art exhibition that is worth noting. In this year, just before Christmas, the French Cultural Services - the cultural wing of the French Embassy in Tanzania, decided to organize an art exhibition that could incorporate contemporary artists from around Dar-Es-salaam city. The organizers got a good response from artists and the exhibition turned out to be a big success. I personally contributed five art works, all of which were sold on the opening day. The point I want to make is that the organizers, including many of the people (mostly foreigners) who came on the opening day were amazed to see the high quality art works which were put on display. The general observation and comments form the organizers were that, they themselves, including the opening day audience, were amazed to see that Tanzania had the potential for such high quality contemporary art (this is apart from Makonde sculpture). It was the general feeling of many of the foreigners who came to the exhibition that Tanzania had good (though still very few) artists and even greater potential for developing the younger-budding-artists. Such an exhibition helped to open up to both Tanzanians and foreigners that Tanzania had talented and authentic artists. These artists (throughout Tanzania) greatly needed development and promotion to eventually put the country on the international art scene.

This exhibition was a foreign initiative and it was certainly targeting a foreign audience and market. To help the development of all types of art and artists, more broad based exhibitions that include works from both rural and urban cultures need to be encouraged and supported. Broad based art exhibitions that centre on multicultural representations are important in developing a diversified art sector that does not, blindly or otherwise, continue to only perpetuate and cultivate foreign oriented art cultures.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Can Art and Art Education Contribute Towards Cultural Identity Construction in Tanzania?

As already observed, the question of cultural identity construction in Tanzania needs to be discussed with close reference to the present postmodern condition. Tanzania, as a country exists and has to exist within the contemporary complexities of global multi and transcultural influences. Tanzania can not avoid being part of the fast forming global village and hence becoming influenced from or influencing other countries is already inevitable. Under such conditions, what then is the place of art and art education in the construction of Tanzania's national cultural identity? Is it really possible, under Tanzania's present social economic and cultural conditions for art and art education to aid the construction of cultural identity? In my attempt to deal with this concluding question of my study, more reference is made to the views of respondents. These interviewees are among the people who experience the problems surrounding art and art education development. Hearing more of their voices at this point helps in pulling the discussion of the study together.

Thus, when asked as to whether or not art and art education has a contribution towards Tanzania's national cultural identity construction, respondents have more or less similar views. According to the interviews it is generally observed that art and art education have great potential in contributing towards the construction of a national cultural identity. However, these respondents still feel, as already noted in the above discussions that this potentiality is hard to actuate in Tanzania due to the various obstacles that surround art and art education development. *How can art and art education help the construction of Tanzania's national cultural identity when the same art sector barely receives even the least government support for its meaningful existence and development? How can the art sector contribute towards national cultural identity construction, when its existence is hardly valued and made known to the people? When the teaching of art is almost nonexistent in Tanzania's primary and secondary schools, how can we expect the art sector to flourish and become active in society?*

It is generally understood that art is found in any society and that its close link with social activities is hardly disputable. But such a generalization appears to be questionable when we start thinking of the fast changing contemporary postmodern societies. During the times of precolonial Tanzania art was part and parcel of people's day to day activities. But with the coming and intensification of foreign influences, the roles that art played in society slowly but steadily started getting displaced and replaced by foreign values and industrially produced alien products. As it has been noted in the preceding discussions, the roles of sculptors and other artists in society got displaced by foreign religious beliefs and acts. The gods that were artistically depicted were pronounced dead and no longer immortal. The incoming foreign cultures started getting into people's minds and lives and thus changing their beliefs, value standards and desires. In similar ways, domestic items and utensils started being replaced by foreign industrially produced substitutes. How then was art and art education affected?

To date, the majority of Tanzanian children start formal education at the age of seven. And it is in this formal schooling that postmodern Tanzanian children expect to get most of their creative (art) skills – as these same skills are no longer adequately available in society outside of school life. And even when these skills are available the children normally do not have enough time for them as more of their time is spent in schools than home or in society. In this way, it is important for the schooling system to be well-placed and equipped to offer comprehensive basic art education to all children. Such education can establish a firm foundation for children's future understanding and appreciation of art and art education. Meaningful basic art education for Tanzania's children can, likewise, contribute towards the development of future artists, theorists, critics, connoisseurs and educators. But then what happens regarding such an issue when there is hardly any comprehensive art education in Tanzania's educational institutions? Under such a situation of near emptiness, children and adults alike are left uneducated and literally uninformed of the essence and importance of the fields of art and art education in society. For art to be functional in society, people have to be properly educated concerning its social importance as well as in the skills of its creation. However, despite all the limitation that art and art education face in Tanzania there is still a strong belief that these social sectors play a remarkable role in the construction of a national cultural identity. This general understanding of art and art education's positive contribution in national cultural identity construction is pointed out by Muhando.

> I believe that art has a big role in building a national identity in the sense that if you look at people; the life they lead and the facilities they have, there is a lot of art. I mean you see it in the way they dress right from the traditional dress to what they have today in their tailored clothes, and stuff like that. You see it in basketry, you see it in pottery and you see it in almost everything that we do. And it is really needed because you find people doing things in particular direction and you have fashions which move in a particular direction and you find even styles like the braiding of hair, and all other activities are in the same direction. So I think through that, it is easy to see somebody and know that he is Tanzanian because of that kind of identity which he has.

Muhando sees art to be an essential medium of identification for people of a particular country. He views art to be a reflector of peoples' cultural norms, values and desires. Art influences peoples' tastes and desires and hence making them follow a particular direction of development and identification. Art influences and aids people in following particular directions in what they deem important and beneficial to do and in the manner that they do such things. In this regard, art is involved in almost all peoples' activities. The example of fashion is very remarkable. Fashion is almost always the most obvious thing that tends to differentiate the appearance of people from different countries. However, as I have briefly pointed out when discussing the notion of authenticity, fashions of various countries are increasingly converging and becoming similar, due to the ever intensifying globalization process.

Similar to Muhando, another respondent, Jumbani, emphasizes the important place art has in constructing Tanzania's national cultural identity. Jumbani relates:

> As I said earlier, art is the way of life a certain society lives and for instance, we could cite examples like when you take Italian art or the Greek art. Why do we say Greek art? What is so special in that art such that it is identified with the Greeks? It means that it illustrates the mode of living; the style of life which the people in that particular place lead. And as you are saying, in the construction of a Tanzanian identity; what do we find in art which reflects certain values and qualities of a certain society? Definitely there are quite a number of things that are involved. If we take into consideration of the art of the Makonde, you would see things like what they say "shetani." What exactly is a Shetani? "Shetanis" are the spirits. Shetanis are actually not devils but they are spirits. These spirits; to us ; to us as Africans or Tanzanians - the traditional Tanzanians - are kind of a connection between the living and the dead. And this is actually what it means by Shetani. I mean before the introduction of these foreign religions like Islam and Christianity, people used to worship their ancestral gods through the spirits, which we call Shetani (mizimu). And in their art, you see the Makonde carving the shetani. They carve a lot of things which reflect the interconnectedness between the living and the dead. I am not quite sure how much of this we would find in other places. Maybe this is common to all Africans, but as I am saying there are

> things which are identified with our place. And some of these things also reflect certain values; especially when it comes to things like 'jando na unyago' (circumcision and female adulthood initiation ceremonies). This is used as an instrument for educating the young before they graduate to adulthood. There are certain things which are used as models or symbols. These models and symbols, for instance when you go to the graduation of let us say young ladies or young men, for that matter, there are certain items; the artistic items, which are applied in educating the young. Many of these practices are quite common and the art involved is quite unique to Tanzanians.

Through Jumbani's above discussion, we observe that art has a central role in the construction of Tanzania's national cultural identity. Despite the presence of foreign cultural influences that are continuously penetrating into the rural Tanzanian communities, one still finds people or societies that are caught in between opposing or dissimilar cultural practices. These are the people who live amidst cultural cocktail situations - experiencing both foreign and local cultural forces acting upon them. These are the people who can either consult a traditional healer; or a traditional fortune teller (psychic reader) and/or attend to a modern medical dispensary or hospital. These are the people who can either go to worship in churches and mosques and/or worship their divine ancestors and other kinds of spiritual bodies. These are also the people who socialize (educate) their children using the modern schooling system and/or use the traditional socialization systems of which "jando and unyango" are part and parcel. Jumbani still sees art being involved in all these traditional practices.

Incidentally, Jumbani's mention of initiation ceremonies among Tanzanian communities triggers past childhood memories of which I will make a brief account. To narrate in detail as to what happened from day one of the ceremony up to the graduation day, which was separated by approximately one and a half months, wowould not be of much relevance here. I will however mention happenings that closely reflect the involvement of art in these ceremonies.

Back in the dry season of 1962, I and my young brother, including six other relatives, were sent for circumcision. After about two weeks of healing and systematic teachings about adulthood life and living; we as initiates, started being taken out of the fencing house that was specially designed and constructed for the occasion. As initiates, we were not allowed to gaze at women or children, hence special face masks had to be constructed for everyone of us.

The task of making the masks was left to us as initiates. Every one of us received systematic, on the job training in artistically constructing and decorating the masks which were constructed using millet stalks and plant fibre threads and then decorated using bird feathers. These masks were carefully designed and constructed such that they covered the whole face-from the chin up to the top of the forehead-thus only leaving small openings for the mouth, nostrils and eyes. On the sides of these face masks, just beside the eyes, were attached two flaps that could cover the eye openings whenever there were women and children around. The construction of these masks was normally completed in two to three days, after which another artistic creative work started. This involved the construction of body masks that had to be worn to cover the chest and the whole hind side of the body, from the shoulders up to half way between the knee joints and the ankles. This was a masking, jacket like, construction that was also made of millet stalks joined together using self made plant fibre threads. Apart from masking the initiate's body, this jacket was also used as a musical and dance property since it produced tap-tapping sounds with the hind side of the legs during specially choreographed walking dance steps. The proper use of this musical masking jacket in accompanying song and dance required a lot of systematic training and practice for the initiates. When the initiates were in full gear singing and dancing they looked highly attractive, especially to the adults.

But the same initiates were frequently terrifying to some of the children. This is because they always smeared (painted) their entire bodies with white ash. The combination of face masks, jackets and white ash almost totally disguised the initiates' identities. All of these activities helped in the endless construction and reconstruction of my Gogo ethnic group's cultural identity. Similar to Jumbani's contention, Prof. Jengo realizes art to be an important tool in the construction of a Tanzanian national cultural identity. In his discussion, Prof. Jengo cites both rural and urban examples.

> It can be contemporary; it can be traditional; but we know that this is African art. Now in Tanzania, many ethnic groups have their own specific areas of art. Going back to the example of the Makonde; the Makonde are known for their carvings. The Zaramos are known for their carvings. That is part of their culture. There are some ethnic groups which do not involve themselves in carving, but they have dances. You will listen to a song or you will look at a dance and you know this is from this region. It is part of the culture of that ethnic group from that particular region. Now in Tanzania there are one hundred and twenty ethnic groups. To say that art, as we understand it in the Western sense can create or develop national identity; I think we must pose and ask ourselves: 'What type of art are we talking about?' It is not easy in Tanzania to talk like in other countries; like Chinese art or Italian art. We can talk about Tanzanian art, but then the question is: "Who are the people involved? All Tanzanians? Or is Tanzanian art; an art produced by any Tanzanian?" So there is that small problem. But we know that art has always been a product of a peoples culture. All art has been a product of a people's culture. And we don't know whether urban art in Tanzania today is part of Tanzanian culture; but we know that it is part of the urban culture. The clients are known – tourists and commercial galleries and souvenir shops; and we know that it fulfills that action. And so we should always realize that at most young African nations are made up of several ethnic groups. And these ethnic groups have their own art. But in Tanzania we have decided to unite, especially in dance and music. To unite all ethnic dances. Songs and dances – regardless of where they come from. And we have decided to make them our Tanzanian dancers. Now in art of painting and sculpture, I think the same is going to be true one of these days. We shall no longer talk about Makonde art. We shall talk about sculpture from Tanzania. In Zimbabwe they are now beginning to talk about Zimbabwe sculpture instead of Shona stone sculpture. These things will take time, but we should always bear in mind that when we talk about national identity or cultural identity; we must bear in mind that these cultures are not from a homogeneous group. They are from several groups. And we should recognize the contribution of each one of these groups. But I quite confirm that art is a product of any culture and art can liaise up cultural or

national identity of a nation.

Keeping in mind what Jengo says, another respondent, Nakanoga also feels strongly that art in Tanzania contributes towards the construction of a national cultural identity. Nakanoga's contention concerning the place of Tanzanian art in cultural identity construction has been cited above, under the section dealing with the role of art in society. In this present discussion, however, Nakanoga cautions us that cultural identity construction needs to be carefully looked into - especially when related to foreign influences. Nakanoga stresses that art can have its contribution towards cultural identity construction. That is okay. But for the aspired to national cultural identity to be meaningful, Tanzania as a country needs to have sound directions in terms of dealing with incoming foreign cultural influences. The interviewee observes that a country that aspires to build a meaningful cultural identity should not simply open wide its doors for whatever comes from outside. Cultural products from outside need to be scrutinized or filtered, so that there is some sort of selection regarding what type of foreign cultural products can be allowed (or can be tolerated) to influence local cultures. This is a very difficult task, Nakanoga confesses, but he still maintains that something has to be done. Discussing this issue Nakanoga observes:

> I think I would look at that in three ways. There is influence; there is interference and there is what you mentioned as intermarriage or intermingling. So these three things have got to be looked into seriously, by a nation which has a strong culture - very strong culture, you see? - because culture has its own qualities. Culture - and art is a component of culture. It is very bad and very awkward for a culture to just allow everything that comes from outside. But again it is very much expected that any given culture would like its cultural qualities to influence some other culture. You see now it is the job and duty of a particular culture to see that any cultural values that come from outside have got to be filtered. You see? that is why I say there is interference; influence and intermingling. Now intermingling comes after. Because to me, I take as a process of evolution. If you intermingle; intermingling is trying to merge or to accept certain qualities of another culture into yours, which you think are life

> supporting. In that way you can call intermingling. Interfering - if you understand and you realize that a certain culture is coming in a very big speed. Very fast speed, to try and influence you, eh; to a point of "Ahh!! come on; we are, Eh; Let's try to, you know, filter this." But it continues to be pumped and what not. Now that is interference. But influence; any culture wants to influence another culture; Eh; and that has got to be understood. Because no one would like his things to be looked at as either inferior or unimportant. So, every one's culture is looked at as an important one; and everyone would like to influence the other. Now, art there is used as a tool, you know; to influence another culture, and even destabilize it. Now for a nation like ours, if the policy makers; the bureaucrats and even the art specialists - the trained ones; are able to realize that they can do two things. One, is make their own art work as a torch to try and do both–one is influence or give a thrust to influence other cultures. And two; to try and maybe stop undesired influences by working against foreign values and products; in a competitive way. ...In that way a culture tries to influence another culture and also being able to really filter in the life supporting aspects of another culture.

Nakanoga's discussion touches key issues surrounding the postmodern cultural identity construction debate. As noted above and also through Nakanoga's contention, the nature and manner of cultural influence greatly shapes the type of cultural identity to be constructed. And it is in such understanding that Nakanoga stresses that Tanzania must be watchful and selective in terms of what influential cultural products are entering the country. Nakanoga is in favour of a balanced inter, intra and transcultural influencing. Influencing that is based on give and take - mutual sharing. Whether this is possible or not is another issue. In any case, this emphasizes that the notions of hybridity and syncretism in *Third Space* formation need to take place under atmospheres of mutual understanding between negotiating cultures. Sincere understanding and positive recognition of differences during cultural identity negotiations is a key factor in and surrounding cultural sharing. Otherwise, everything turns out to be sheer hatred and disregard of the Other and at times resulting in systematic domination of this Other by the superior.

Another respondent, Macha shares his views concerning this issue of the place of art in Tanzania's cultural identity construction. In his discussion, Macha puts more emphasis on the issues that surround art creativity and circulation; and how such circumstances influence cultural identity construction. Macha openly admits that inter, intra and transcultural influencing is inevitable. Under contemporary globalization conditions Tanzanian societies are bound to be bombarded by influential foreign cultural products. Macha sees change as part and parcel of human development, and it is through change that life and living becomes meaningful. People have to learn to accommodate change so as to be able to live. And for this matter, art forms and styles have to keep on changing in response to changes that are happening within and without the Tanzanian borders. In this discussion , Macha propounds:

> I think yes, art is being affected by foreign influence. Not only art, the culture - the whole culture is affected. When people intermingle; when people travel to other places and see what others are doing; they get influenced. In this way they also want to improve or rather; you know, an art work is an expression of an impression. You see what the other people are doing; you get impressed and you also want to show it - that impression in your art. You see! So in one way or another you are influenced. See the Makonde carvers of today, for instance, are not the Makonde carvers of some years ago. You see! Today's Makondes have been very much influenced by Western art. You see! For instance a tourist comes in, he says, "Okay, I like this kind of sculpture, but can you carve it this way? I wanted a sculpture of this type. Can you carve one for me before I leave the country? I want this type and this type". Thus the Makonde also carve according to the instructions of tourists. And the tourists pay money for it. And since the Makonde carver has to live, he wants to sell his art. He has to follow the instructions of the foreigner. You see! He wants to get money so that he can manage his life. So infact, due to the interaction of people and so on and the like, Tanzania has been affected. I quite agree, and I think it is normal. But there are some tourists who are quite keen in art. They want to look for real Tanzanian art. You see! Real Tanzanian art that has not been influenced by outsiders. You see! And this type of art is rare to get. ...Tanzanian identity–identity of a people is their culture. But a culture has to change; culture is dynamic. It can not be static. It changes with the needs of the people, and you may wonder; maybe one day the world will be one culture! You never know because we keep on changing and eventually; well; in the long run, we will come up with one culture. I am not sure whether I said foreign influence is good or bad; but we are Tanzanians; yes; we have our culture; yes; we change with needs of the people; and the culture changes too. We meet foreigners; we are influenced. Some aspects of the culture, not only ours but also the cultures of foreigners change; because they are also influenced. Remember Pablo Picasso's

> paintings. How they were influenced by African art. So actually this is the trend and we ought to keep on changing. We can't remain static. Our art has to change with time so as to well serve its roles in society.

Jumbani realizes as well the role of art in the construction of a Tanzanian national cultural identity. But despite such realization, this respondent is well aware of the effects of foreign cultural influences in art and hence on the Tanzanian identity to be constructed. Jumbani is aware of the fact that inter, intra, and transnational cultural influences are part and parcel of contemporary human life. The respondent, however, goes on to caution that such globalized cultural influences are somehow detrimental to the whole project of constructing a Tanzanian national cultural identity. Despite realizing such a dilemma, this art educator is of the opinion that Tanzania as a country can't live or exist in isolation. Tanzania can't in any case claim to be constructing a national cultural identity that is purely and exclusively Tanzanian; an identity that is free from foreign influences. In his contention, Jumbani first relates on the role of art in the construction of a Tanzanian cultural identity. He asserts:

> Maybe as for now, their is no art for art's sake. People would paint, for instance, to get some money and so forth. But still we would not dismiss the idea of including feelings; different emotions of the people; the way they feel about their society. The way artists see things around us is always incorporated in their paintings. We would see, for instance, the mode of life we see in Tanzania to be reflected in a painting. The kind of occupations people are engaged in; also the natural resources like game reserves; forests and all sorts of landscapes - all these you would find in various paintings of Tanzania artists. Things which we might not be able to see in the future; lets say in several years to come; and which are happening today; could be seen represented in painting. People would say "Oh! in such and such a place and time; we used to do such as such things. So paintings to me, besides reflecting the different or various emotions; are also serving as documentary evidence in the future - now and in the future. So paintings and other associated arts such as sculpture, pottery, and many others, to me, are a good source of record in the future. I have seen paintings which have lasted for, maybe, a thousand years. ...Art is very, very important. To me, I would go to the extent of saying we can not do without art, especially when we look at the contemporary life...

After asserting the crucial role that art is playing in the construction of a Tanzanian cultural identity, Jumbani proceeds to discuss the effects of foreign cultural influences - influences that might change the direction and ways in which art is used in the construction of a national cultural identity.

> It would seem to me that our art is now market oriented. People are fighting for their bread and the kind of direction which I am talking about is that we have started to paint things which would sell easily to tourists and many other people. So we do not exactly address issues and the exact life that the Tanzanians are living. We are incorporating a lot of things from outside; hopefully that these people (buyers) will be fascinated by these modern styles which we are copying from outside–which might not necessarily reflect the true life which Tanzanians are living. So in future it might mislead people that okay this is the kind of life which Tanzanians led. This is the kind of picture we portray to the outside world. It is some kind of a mixed grill; it is a basket with many items inside. So in which case, it will be very difficult to sort out; 'Okay is this a true Tanzanian reflection of art?' Or as I say, it is a mixed grill. We have got little from here, little from here, and so forth. But all the same, as I am saying, since the society is changing, we cannot claim that we are unique; unique in the sense that this is purely a Tanzanian culture. The culture is incorporating a lot of ideas; a lot of values from various societies from outside. So when it comes to art, it is not something special; I mean we would expect things like that; as long as we have accepted to incorporate things like, lets say, a few words from other languages into our language– a few things from here and there. So when in the same way we are also incorporating certain styles of art, from outside, into our art. But there is a danger, anyway, as I am saying, that since it is a struggle for a living, there is a tendency that there is more inclination towards that side rather than to paint or create art works based on reflected things or experience.

Also contributing to this discussion of external influence, Prof. Jengo sees the issue of cultural influence and art to be historical, worldwide and not at all unique to Africa or Tanzania. In his discussion, the respondent cites examples from Tanzania's colonial times and even goes on to also mention how African art came to influence European art–influences that (as already noted) literally opened doors for the emergence of modern European art. Relating to this question of foreign cultural influence on Tanzanian art and identity Jengo exemplifies:

> ...There was art before the colonial people came to Tanzania or to any other African country or any other country in the world. There was art. But through cultural interaction; the colonial period had produced a new kind of art. People were no longer depending on wood, but people had the freedom of drawing on paper; painting on paper; painting on canvas and so forth and so on. Now all this came through cultural interaction. So whenever there is cultural interaction anywhere in the world, people tend to change. And you know, a very good example of African carvings when they reached Europe in the 19th century, artists like Mattise, Mondrian, Picasso, and Braque, all these people changed their artistic forms. They adopted African sculptural forms. So this is cultural interaction. And in Tanzania, the colonial period, when the colonial people were here and they taught in schools - there was this influence from the West which is still very clear in Tanzania and in many former colonial countries.

Similar to Jengo's stipulation, another respondent, Masanja also recognizes the inevitability of foreign cultural influence on Tanzanian art and its subsequent role in society. On this matter, Masanja proceeds to question why there is so much continued foreign influence on Tanzanian art creativity. Concerning this question of influence on art, Masanja is of the opinion that present or contemporary art market forces have much to blame. Masanja observes that most of the buyers of Tanzanian (especially urban) art are foreigners. And incidentally, these foreign buyers are the ones who happen to have more (repeated) contacts with artists. And it is through such business contacts that art creativity is subsequently influenced. Masanja propounds:

> Up to now, my experience has shown that most of the buyers (of especially urban art) are foreigners. From my experience I do not know if this could be the effect of price or what; I don't know. And also, I think, if that is the case then the whole thing of who buys art could be historical. We, as Tanzanians have never had the tendency of buying (contemporary) art work. Because we have never seen the value of art which is for display purposes only. And when an African buys art, it is only when he has a lot of money and also when he has had accessibility to a foreign orientation. This one could come and say 'Oh, it is a good piece of art work, I would like to buy it.' We see art works as art works- as they are, and this question of art for art's sake; it is not in our community because art in our community has a function. ...But the buyers; we come to the buyers; can influence a lot in the way art can be produced. A good example is with the Makonde people. The Makonde carvers have been influenced a lot by the foreigners. Initially there was no shetani, but the shatani has been created

> because one person tried to carve some sort of a monster like carving, which was liked by the first and other subsequent buyers. Now the Shetani is eminently being carved. And the tourists; when they come to buy these works - if they want the Shetani - they usually say that 'I would like to have a carving of Shetani just like that one.' So there is a reproduction of that particular one (piece). ...Copying; thereby we can say it is no longer a creative art at all. It is just copying of that one and that one. So buyers, in fact, influence a lot.

Another respondent, Muhando, though quite aware of the enormous foreign influence on Tanzanian art creativity, still considers influence as a positive action towards development. Muhando, a literature tutor, novelist and self-taught artist, cites his own experiences as first hand examples. The interviewee personally believes foreign cultural influence to be a source of inspiration and nourishment in artistic development. In other words, this respondent strongly considers the advantages resulting from foreign cultural influence in art as well as in all types of learning to be outweighing the disadvantages. Muhando realizes that he himself has, through the years of his art practice been influenced by the ideas and styles of artists like Jackson Pollock, Vincent Van Gogh, and Hans Hofmann. Muhando's art works are mainly oil paintings in abstract form. This artist-educator, however, as other respondents have asserted, strongly stresses that the abstract style in his art is not Western but African in origin. In his discussion, this respondent begins by looking at the state of foreign influence in Tanzanian art, then proceeds on highlighting some of the good things brought about through such influences. Responding to the question whether or not Tanzanian art is currently influenced by foreign culture, Mahando relates:

> I will give you a practical example. Let's take a particular school of art. Here I am talking about tourist art, and in this direction, lets look at the carvings or just call it sculpture. The Makonde carvers are used to talking about making things this way or that way, because the tourists would like it this way or that way. Tourists come with their desires and designs. Someone (the tourist) wants a certain sculpture which would look like this - with some instructions - then the Makonde carver would do something which blends his emotions and the

> emotions of the consumer. And this consumer happens to be a foreigner. And if you look at the way the Makonde sculpture has developed over the years; you come to see how much it has been influenced by tourists. ...If you visit galleries in Dar-Es-salaam; like Acasia gallery; you visit galleries like Nyumba ya Sanaa or you visit galleries (curio shops) along Samora Avenue such as Karibu art Gallery, you find that people have been affected by Western culture through trying to bring it into the African pictures. I would say, I myself have been influenced by works by people like Vincent Van Gogh; Jackson Pollock and Hans Hofmann. Some of my work or parts of my work is very much accidental; you know, here and there. Experimental and accidental. ...So I can confidently say that there is some kind of blending experiences. I mean the world is falling down to one village. And I think we are soon becoming part of that village – the global village, so to speak. So there is good influence on our art – to some extent– and as we go, you could see the world merging in the arts till coming closer.

In this discussion, Muhando goes talks about some of the misconceptions surrounding the whole question of the West influencing the Other. Regarding this issue, the respondent hints that some of the ideas that seem or appear to be foreign are actually not. Some of the cultural products that seem to come from the West under the umbrella of foreign cultural influence are actually also foreign to them. To illustrate some of these cultural misconceptions, Muhando talks about the practice of wearing wigs by some African people or societies. The interviewee discusses this issue of wearing wigs by citing examples of his own experiences as an educator. Muhando continues:

> I was talking to some college girls about two days ago; and they were talking about a poem by Ogot, B.A. – Song of Lawino – which attacks the cultural corruption by the West. These girls gave me a good example, you know, the whole question of wearing wigs as a foreign influence and stuff like that. I told them, 'Wait a minute, I think it is better to sit down and talk. Don't we have Africans who wear wigs?' I told them, 'Well, do you look at pictures of the ancient Egyptians? Their hair?' They said 'Yeah, yeah. Oh sure!!' I said, 'That was wigs. Have you seen Masai men? You know, the additions they put on their hair – so long!!?' And they said, 'Yeah, sure.' I said, 'That can also be wigs. Do you think the Masai copied from some of these white people and stuff like that? Do you think this was a foreign influence upon the Masai?; upon the Egyptians?' They said, 'Why?' I said, 'No, this looks like an intertrade of influences. We influence them; they influence us. We borrow from them; they borrow from us.' And as we go, you know, there will be some kind of social balance. It all depends on how much you take, and how much you give up on

> your side. So it goes with dress and fashions and commerce. And the arts are put into this, especially the commodities we buy from the West. ...Television is now here – which is a great agent of influence. ...But if all these patterns are well worked out to enrich our experience, by blending foreign art with local art; foreign culture with local culture; and I think it is a nice environment. But if the way from outside comes and disrupts the previous experience completely, then it becomes very difficult for people to adjust themselves to their own direction. People become disoriented. ...So it is not easy for me to put a stick boundary and say 'foreign influence is bad; we better stay with our local influence.' Because we have so many experiences which have been enriched by intergrating the local and the foreign. ...But I think, art as art can integrate very well and I will encourage everybody who gets a chance to expose himself or herself to other arts across the oceans; see American art; see Canadian art; see Chinese art; see Russian art and you will enrich your experiences. And they too can see a lot. Picasso gained a lot from African art. ...So that means it is a good exchange. It is a healthy exchange.

Commenting on his own art style, and also on the possibility of change of their styles for Tanzanian artists who happen to be exposed to foreign cultural influences, Muhando is of the opinion that any serious artists can not easily be blindly influenced. Any person who is well informed and aware of the importance and essence of having his or her own cultural identity is most likely to always be conscious of any misleading foreign cultural influences. For this matter, foreign contacts or influences need to be encouraged rather than discouraged. The crucial thing to be aware of is the type of influence that confronts someone and how well to sieve the good out of the bad within such intercultural contacts, and negotiations. In examining what he refers to as cultural prostitution, Muhando alleges:

> I would say it is a big, big asset. Very big asset. Exposure; exposure to the world. I have this feeling that all the people; all the people – educated and uneducated; of all the nations and all cultures have a certain capacity in reacting to art. ...I mean the ability to appreciate art in relation to what people call cultural prostitution. You go to America, study there; when you come back you will no longer be an African. You go to China, when you come back, then you will be doing Chinese art and you forget your African art. No!!! I don't think that is true. For any person who is serious with his life, his identity is basic; is basic, so long as he goes there and comes back. And it means that he has to live here a life which is fulfilling; a fulfilling life. And it is true that he will have to blend with what he saw there with what he sees here. It is only the traditionalists who believe that things have to go only in a

> particular direction. And anything that blends in is considered to be pollution. ...You see? Like myself here; when I do abstract art or seem-abstract art; some people tell me this is not African art. But I tell them, 'Wait a minute. In most of the African crafts we see a lot of beautiful squares; we see a lot of beautiful circles; we see a lot of beautiful lines. What is wrong when I use them in my painting. And what is so African and so unAfrican about this painting when it has these lines. But when you see it on a walking stick, you call it African. When you see it on a canvas, you call it unAfrican.' Because once you see it just lines and patterns, you say, "No this is not a picture. Where are the trees? Where are the people? This is not important." But the Africans are given to abstract art almost like anybody else because we see it in their decoration. ...The same comes to dress and whatever. So long as we import a lot of things, we import foreign culture. You don't have to go to America to get foreign art there. It comes here when you buy American commodities; English commodities; Chinese commodities. And because they sell, people are attracted to them. It is only that there has been some kind of propaganda; a nationalist propaganda which is built on nationalist romanticism. ...And it has its power politics, discouraging people; you see, from paying attention to foreign artistic influences.

Nakanoga, like Muhando and many of the other respondents, feels that foreign influence on Tanzanian art and culture at large is inevitable, nevertheless this same unavoidable influence needs to be carefully evaluated. People need to be aware of the good and bad sides of foreign cultural influence. Knowing or being aware of such advantages and disadvantages will place people in better positions to positively counteract misleading incoming cultural influences. This respondent duely stresses that foreign influences need to be welcome into a country so as to gain experiences or exposure to such foreign cultural contacts. Less than that, Nakanoga questions: "How can people or nations know what others are doing if such people or countries decide to live in isolation?" After all is isolation profitable or even possible in this fast changing postmodern world? On the inevitability of contemporary globalized cultural influences, Nakanoga says:

> I think allowing all these you have mentioned, like televisions, magazines and newspapers coming in; there is an important element that will enable people to really know the way, you know, to beat the other culture. Because if you don't know what your counterpart is doing, you won't know how to beat him; you see; you won't know how to beat him. At least you know what is happening outside,

> and you know what is coming inside, and then you know what is selling. What is accepted readily. Now in that way you will know what to do; what you should make to beat the incoming influence. You need to understand the other.

In Nakonga's discussion, there is due emphasis on the notion of beating the other culture. In this rather strong statement Nakanoga does not in any way refer to killing or totally eradicating – blindly – any foreign cultural influences. What he means is the intensification of the competitive urge within social economic and cultural development. How can, for instance, Tanzanians compete with other cultures in building and enriching their cultural identities in the face of incoming cultural influences? How can Tanzanians rediscover the authenticity and value of their cultural identities in relation to incoming cultural norms and value standards? How can Tanzanians make good use of incoming foreign cultural values and products in enriching their own cultures? How can Tanzanians negotiate and renegotiate with other incoming cultural influences so as to reshape their directions towards building and rebuilding their cultural identities? To beat, here, is therefore to compete in a rigorous way - without consciously or unconsciously yielding to any unfavourable and misleading foreign cultural influences. In attempting to link how art is affected or how it plays a part in the process of foreign cultural influences, Nakanoga goes on to talk of the buyers of Tanzanian art. In his discussion, the respondent points out that not all art is readily sellable to foreign customers. It is only some type of art that normally reaches the hands of the foreign buyer. Nakanoga elaborates on this point by asserting:

> The term 'art' is broad and does encompass many human creative involvements. But when we talk of art works, this tends to narrow the whole meaning of art. Because when we talk of art works and selling - those artworks which sell are more or less in very specific areas. Now for that matter, I can say the buyers are foreigners. Now I wanted to refer to art, because art is, you know, so wide. Is

> very broad? There are so many areas in art. Some areas are not even concerned with business - selling business. And some areas are very much in use in industrial production. And some areas of art are used simply for communication purposes. And some are just for information. Now, when you come to your specific question of selling art - well, the foreigners buy art works.

After mentioning the principal buyer of Tanzanian art - as being the foreigner, Nakanoga goes on to discuss the way he thinks art can play a part in cultural identity constructions. Nakanoga generalises in the following way:

> Well it (art) does in a way contribute towards cultural identity constructions. I say it does in a way because if a particular line filters through to other countries; unfortunately or fortunately, those countries will look at that particular country (of origin) through the art works they are buying. So it is those art works which go outside that will give a reflection of what or how that particular country is in terms of art and in terms of culture. And this reflection might be positive or negative or wrong reflection. ...Along those lines, as I said, art influences cultural identity constructions. The artworks that sell are in one particular line. Now for those who are involved in that line of artworks - the selling of their art works does influence their thinking and their productivity. Because it is like marketing and production. If you see or realise that by producing your work in a certain style, sells so much and you need to sell - definitely you will sort of be inclined to please your buyer. If your intention is to sell. And selling means survival to you and if you think survival is first priority then you will have to follow the desires of the buyer. And all this influences your thinking as well as in terms of production. But then, I say that is only in that particular line. Not art in general.

After discussing some of the ways in which art gets involved in cultural identity constructions, Nakanoga finalizes his comments by observing the various contradictions that surround Tanzanian students being trained abroad. Nakanoga is of the opinion that it is the duty of any Tanzanian being trained abroad to be conscious of the presence of cultural influences surrounding his or her entire life abroad. Being so conscious, these students need to differentiate between what is good cultural influence and what is bad within such influences. Concerning this issue of foreign training, Nakanoga asserts:

> As an art teacher, I tend to think or believe that an individual student abroad

> has got three things happening within himself. He is one; a cultural agent when he goes outside. Now, as a cultural agent, he has to make sure those three things are going to happen within him. The influence; the intermingling and the interference. He goes outside and gets trained. Now through the training, he comes across some foreign cultural values. Now he has a duty to filter them and so takes what he thinks are life supporting in as far as his country is concerned; his nation is concerned. So there is no question of him or his training to badly affect his nation. Now if it does, then there is some weakness in that cultural agent. Because he is supposed to know all these things, that "I am going there. I am going to get trained and I am going to get trained for both my country and myself. Now my country means my community; my society; and now I have got to know what I should take." For if he takes things wholesale, all the same; because one is free you know; he can take things wholesale. Now when it comes to implementation or to assimilate it, then he has got to select. Use those materials which he thinks they are beneficial; life supporting for his society. ...There is need, you know, to meet other cultures, and in that way it can (culture) sort of assess its own level; its own standard - its own way of life; and try to adjust; you know, like a checker board. Because if you see another culture and through that you can really know where you stand. So that cultural agent; that artist, by going outside; just like giving him more room to meet other cultures and see what are the good things in that other cultures that he can take back home. And by so doing, he is enriching his own culture.

Following what has been said by the respondents in these discussions it is apparent that all of these discussants are quite aware of the present postmodern conditions affecting inter, intra and transcultural influencing within and among nations of the world. These respondents are also aware that Tanzania as a country exists within these rather hard to avoid postmodern social economic and cultural conditions. Being aware of these overpowering foreign cultural influences over Tanzania, these discussants are of the opinion that Tanzania needs to be aware and stay alert of any misleading and harmful foreign cultural influences. Being watchful of any incoming misleading cultural influences places Tanzania in a better position to counteract such undesired cultural contacts. According to these discussions, it is observed that it is not fair for Tanzanians to sit back and wait to see their country progressively being misled and getting modeled into a cultural miniature image of the West, through cultural postcolonialisation. The respondents feel that doing something is better than doing nothing at all.

It is well understood that it is very difficult to go or act against any incoming social economic and cultural influences flowing under the postmodern global high tides. But this does not in any case negate the deserved struggle by other dominated countries to resist such, mostly Western cultural imperialism.

13.1 Concluding Remarks

In summing up from discussions of the entire study, it is observed that art and art education in Tanzania have a central role in the construction of a national cultural identity - a Tanzanian identity as seen from both inside and outside the country. The study indicates that art and art education in Tanzania can greatly help in the construction of cultural identities of the various cultures and subcultures within the country, as well as in building the national cultural identity. It is, however, indicated throughout the study that art and art education in Tanzania are confronted by numerous obstacles that work to inhibit their development and social role in the country's cultural identity construction projects. These contradictions confronting the meaningful development and social role of art and art education need to be recognized and eliminated or corrected so as to give room for the prosperity and active participation of art and art education in national cultural identities construction. The major identifiable constraints confronting the meaningful development and social roles of art education are summed up as follows:

13.1.1 *The study indicates that the current status (development) of art and art education in Tanzania is not adequate.*

(i) It is observed that art is not or not adequately taught in Tanzania's primary schools. Art being not or not adequately taught in primary schools deprives Tanzania's younger generation of such essential knowledge which is important and much needed for their future meaningful participation in the construction of their country's cultural identities. The possible explanations for not teaching and learning art in primary schools are seen to be due to:

(a) The absence of qualified teachers.

(b) The lack of teaching materials and equipment.

(c) The absence of national final art examinations contributes to the unpopularity of the subject.

(d) The overall lack of support and recognition of the importance of the subject by some people and institutions responsible for its development.

(ii) It is also realized that art is not or not adequately taught in Tanzania's secondary schools. Art is only taught in some few secondary schools, and even here its teaching does not reach meaningful standards. The underdevelopment of art teaching and learning in secondary schools is seen to be due to, among other things, the following major reasons:

(a) Lack of adequate and qualified art teachers.

(b) Lack of adequate teaching materials, teaching and learning space and equipment.

(c) Lack of adequate support for its development from various responsible individuals and national institutions.

(iii) The study as well indicates that art and art education are not meaningfully taught and learned in most of Tanzania's Teachers Training Colleges. Some of the major reasons explaining such a tendency are:

(a) Lack of qualified teachers to teach the subjects.

(b) Shortage or lack of teaching materials and equipment.

(c) Lack of final college art examinations also contribute towards the unpopularity of the subjects.

(d) Lack of adequate support, for the development of the subjects, from responsible individuals and national institutions.

(iv) The study shows that art and art education are being taught at the University of Dar-Es-salaam and Butimba Teachers Training College. However, the teaching of these subjects at both institutions still calls for more support to improve its quality. For instance:

(a) The teaching and learning of art and art education at the University of Dar-Es-salaam is essentially hindered by the acute lack of teaching space and teaching and learning materials and equipment.

(b) For Butimba Teachers Training College, the teaching and learning of art and art education is not meaningfully realized due to the lack of adequate teaching space and teaching materials and equipment.

13.1.2 ***The study as well suggestst hat the development of art and art education lacks adequate support from national institutions such as the Institute of Education; The National Arts Council; The National Museums; the Tanzania Elimu Supplies and the Ministry of Education itself. However, such limited support offered by these mentioned institutions is possibly explained by, among other reasons, limited funding available to them for their meaningful operation and support*** *of the arts.*

13.1.3 *The study, as well, indicates that the development of art outside the schooling system needs more support of the national and private institutions concerned. Institutions such as the National Arts Council, The National Museums of Tanzania; Tanzania Elimu Supplies and private institutions such as Nyumba ya Sanaa Art Gallery and Training Centre, need to work more closely with society However, for such institutions to effectively operate for the betterment of art learning and practice, they need to be adequately supported by other relevant national institutions such as the Ministry of Education,The Ministry of Finance and banking and finance institutions.*

13.1.4 *Possible suggestions for improvement:*

(i) Tanzania needs to find ways of improving the development of art and art education teaching and learning in schools, colleges and the University of Dar-Es-salaam. Continuous and adequate provision of art teaching and learning needs to be supported and reinforced right from kindergarten through primary and secondary institutions up to teachers college and the university level. Right now the teaching and learning of art in Tanzania is neither continuous nor adequate. As already noted above, there is almost no art teaching in primary schools. There is inadequate teaching and learning of the subject in some few secondary schools. In teachers colleges art is either not taught or inadequately taught. At the university level and Butimba Teachers College there is art teaching and learning that needs improvement. This in a way helps to indicate the discontinuity and inadequacy of teaching and learning confronting the subjects. To establish continuous and meaningful art teaching and learning will possibly give Tanzanians ample exposure that will most likely help them appreciate more of the essence of art and art education in society. Continuous, well established and supported art teaching and learning will also help the interested and able Tanzanians to develop into future artists, art theorists, critics, and valuers as well as art educators. The teaching of art and art education needs to be better linked with people's lives or social issues. Art teaching and learning needs to get closer to the people. The bridge linking art, artists and society has to be carefully worked upon and strengthened.

(ii) Tanzania needs to offer adequate support and encouragement for the development of art learning and practice outside the schooling system. Among such support and development could be:

(a) The availability of art materials and equipment needs to be ascertained. In this way, institutions like Elimu Supplies that sell stationers require to be strengthened in terms of financial support and management. The stocking and provision of art related materials and equipment requires to be given prime priority.

(b) National galleries need to be established, whereby artists can exhibit their work. These galleries will act as learning institutions, since artists will have more chance to see the works of other artists and also learn more from one another's achievement and shortfalls. The establishment of national as well as private galleries will as well enable other people (non artists or the public), local as well as foreigners to see and realize the richness and authenticity of contemporary Tanzanian art. These galleries will as well help in popularising Tanzanian art and artists both locally and abroad. Galleries will likewise act as centres to offer motivation and learning opportunities for the upcoming young artists – to learn from the works and experiences of more established artists.

(c) There needs to be deliberate and well-supported promotion of art and art activities through the Tanzanian media. The various Tanzanian television stations, the radio and newspapers could be used to promote art and art education in society. Educating the people concerning the place and essence of art and art education in society needs to be emphasized to help popularizing Tanzanian art and artists both locally and abroad. Open or distant education through institutions like The Institute of Adult Education or the newly established Open University will be of much help. Galleries will likewise act as centres to offer motivation and learning opportunities for the upcoming young artists – to learn from the works and experiences of more established artists.

(d) There needs to be frequent seminars and workshops for educating government officials. Education needs to be offered to both those directly and closely connected with the development of art and art education, including policy makers and those not directly concerned (responsible) with the development of these sectors – but are crucial in making discussions that eventually affect these disciplines. These other people could, for instance, come from the nation's financial institutions including the Ministry of Finance. These officials need to be educated as to what is the importance of art and art education in society, and why is it so important for such human sectors to receive priority in funding and other supports.

(iii) Concerning foreign cultural influences on art creativity and development, what I would suggest is, among other things, to ensure the strengthened offering of suitable education to Tanzanians – education that adequately dwells in people's understanding of Tanzanian cultures and identities so as to sufficiently realize their place in local and global cultural politics. Such education will as well enable people to appreciate the artistic creations made in society–creations that also help in projecting their cultural identities both within and without the Tanzanian borders. It needs to be realized, however, that Tanzania can not exist in isolation of the current postmodern global conditions of inter, intra, and trans-cultural influencing. In this case then, whatever education will be offered and whatever steps will be taken to strengthen the development of art and art education need to pay close attention to these global conditions. Whatever measures that will be taken to enhance the development of these disciplines of learning and human practice need not aim at totally closing the doors to prevent any external influences from coming in. Tanzania will only be able to identify meaningful and suitable directions for social economic and cultural development through adequately interacting with other cultures of the world. Tanzania will learn much through interacting with other cultures. But it needs to be realized and duely emphasized that such learning from alien cultures need not be achieved or gained under the total or excessive sacrifice of the country's cultural identit(ies)y and national integrity. Tanzania needs to promote all that is good within its cultures as well as to keep on striving to borrow and incorporate worthwhile foreign cultural products. However, it is not in any way possible at this point to offer any specific suggestions for Tanzania's meaningful cultural involvement with other cultures of the world. This is not at all possible. What I would say is that particular and specific situations of inter, intra and transcultural interactions and negotiations between Tanzanian cultures and other foreign cultures need to be considered separately as specific encounters. The Tanzania Uganda war discussed above is a good example of a specific encounter in both national and international politics. The way the war was fought and the manner in which art was involved could hardly have been precisely predicted before hand. The nature of any specific cultural interactions and negotiations for the possible formation of third spaces–spaces of mutual negotiation, understanding and possible acceptance calls for specific considerations and action. There is no one single solution to many problems.

(iv) The development of art education needs to cover all areas or fields of art. Emphasis needs to be made in the development of both traditional and contemporary forms of art. Art forms and styles that are found in rural communities require to be well identified, encouraged, supported and promoted. Here I do not mean the support and encouragement of non-changing traditional forms or art. What I mean is the unintimidating and uninhibiting support, encouragement and promotion that will give room for the development of these creative abilities and directions of artists in accordance with the ever changing social economic and cultural conditions. In any case, these artists need to be made aware that in whatever possible ways, that their cultural identities are always prime and that every country in the world is and has always been striving to construct its own authentic national cultural identities.

(v) Art and art education can not meaningfully contribute toward the construction of Tanzania's national cultural identities without these sectors being well supported by the political class. The Tanzanian political class need to be made to realize the importance of art and art education in social, economic and cultural development. They need to be made to know (through things like workshops, seminars, and the media) that art and art education are disciplines that can positively contribute toward human development. The political class and artists need to be made to realize that they need to work together for common social, economic and cultural goals.

My Journey (External Experiences)

In ending my thesis discussion, I need to reflect on my experiences as a student abroad - and how these experiences might affect my identity as a Tanzanian artist-educator living and working in Tanzania. I will not, however, go into the details of these experiences as such an attempt would, without doubt, require a separate comprehensive study. What I will do is to briefly relate some of these experiences with my future contributions to Tanzania's social economic and cultural development.

As noted above, my experiences abroad started back in October 1983, when I traveled to Britain (Glasgow) for my graduate studies in graphic design. My design studies, which were at the Glasgow School of Art took me

20 months - up to the end of June 1985. After my graduation I returned to Tanzania, where I continued to teach art and design at the University of Dar - Es - salaam. In December, 1989, I came to Canada where I joined the Department of Art and Design of the University of Alberta to study for a Master of Visual Arts Degree with concentration in Visual Communication Design. I successfully completed my design degree in November 1991. In January 1992 I started my doctorate studies of which this thesis is a partial fulfillment. I expect to travel back to Tanzania by the end of September 1997.

Being in Britain for 20 months was a good eye-opener for my views relating to postmodern global multicultural identity politics. My stay in Britain enabled me, for the first time, to be even more appreciative of my own identity as a Tanzanian. This is because living in a foreign country helped to highlight the inevitable social, economic and cultural differences and diversities that are within and among the peoples and cultures of the postmodern world. My living, for the first time, with peoples of difference in colour and cultural backgrounds made me understand and appreciate more that every country in the world has both good and bad things and that such judgements (value standards) of tastes and desires are essentially culturally grounded. I also came to realize that it is easier for someone to recognize and understand both the strengths and weaknesses of one's culture (and that of the other) while living , for some time, in a different or foreign culture. I was, for instance, able to appreciate more of the differences in advancement of communication networks between Tanzania and Western countries like Britain. I came to know better how infectious, influential and educative the advanced Western media systems can be. This was more so, since by then Tanzania had not even installed Television networks, and foreign newspapers were hardly available in the country. Being aware of such diversities in British and Tanzanian cultures I was always cautious of not being blindly influenced.

Thus during my whole stay at the Glasgow School of Art, I was always aware that I was there to study and learn the tools of analysis that would enable me to be a useful and resourceful artist/designer and educator in Tanzania. I was in Britain not to take everything wholesale, but to study design in relation to how I would apply or use it in my own country. Incidentally the study of design is all the time linked with the study of (or the awareness of) the audience or user's culture. This understanding of design frequently made me reflect back as to how I would apply my knowledge in my own culture which was very different from that of the British. So whenever there was a free choice of a design problem to be worked upon, I chose something that was relevant to or related to Tanzania.

This same thinking and approach towards the appropriation of knowledge from a foreign culture continued when I came to Canada. At the Department of Art and Design - University of Alberta - I frequently selected problems whose possible solutions would be helpful in my work in Tanzania. My final thesis problem and solution was on how to design, in a better way, illustrated materials for rural Tanzanian development. This was a thesis question aimed at developing a better and more appropriate way of solving design problems related to preparing meaningful and understandable illustrated materials for educating rural Tanzanians.

My doctorate studies in the Department of Secondary Education have followed a similar trend. This thesis explains itself as I attempt to put to light the various contradictions surrounding the place and role of art and art education in Tanzania.

On my return to Tanzania, I intend to apply my knowledge gained from abroad in a way that will possibly be more appropriate and meaningful to the people. I expect to use an approach that will in no way impose things wholly and blindly. My stay in both Britain and Canada has exposed me to precious knowledge that needs to be used intelligently and carefully so as to be meaningful to Tanzania's social, economic and cultural development.

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APPENDIX A

Questions

The following were the guided questions used in my interviews:

Primary Schools

1. Is art taught in your school?
2. From what grade or class/standard does the teaching of art start?
3. Is art education examined in your school?
4. Do you have trained art teachers? If yes, where were they trained?
5. How do students develop their themes for art creation in art classes.
6. Is art creation studio based or community based?
7. Is art education examined nationally? If yes, how and when?
8. Does your school have an art room?
9. Does your school have art materials?
10. Does your school have art books for reference?
11. Are there any problems that hinder the teaching of art in your school?
12. Does art and art education have any role in the construction of a national cultural identity?

Secondary Schools

1. Is art taught in your school?
2. From what form does the teaching of art (start) begin?
3. Is art education examined in your school?
4. Is art education examined nationally? If yes, how and when?
5. Do you have trained art teachers? If yes, where were they trained?
6. How do students develop themes for their art creativity?
7. Is art creation (exclusively) studio based or community based, or both?
8. Does your school have an art room?
9. Does your school have art materials?
10. Does your school have art reference books?

11. Are there any problems that hinder the teaching of art in your school?
12. Do market forces (buyers of art) affect the teaching of art?
13. Do foreign buyers of art affect or influence art creativity?
14. Does art, and art education have any role in the construction of a national cultural identity?

Colleges of Education

1. Is art and art education taught in your college? If yes, how? To whom?
2. Is art and art education examined in your college? How?
3. Is art and art education examined nationally?
4. Do you have trained art tutors? If yes, where were they trained?
5. How do students develop themes for their art creativity?
6. Is art and art education study based on the community, study based or both?
7. Does your college have an art room?
8. Does your college have art materials for art learning
9. Does your college have art reference books?
10. Are there any problems that hinder the teaching of art and art education in your college?
11. Do market forces (buyers of art) affect the teaching of art?
12. Do foreign buyers of art influence the teaching and creation of art.
13. Does art and art education have any role in the construction of a national cultural identity?

The University of Dar-Es-Salaam

1. When was the teaching of art and art education first started at the University of Dar-Es-Salaam? Why was it started then and not earlier?
2. Is the teaching of art and art education studio based, community based or both?
3. Are art materials a problem?
4. Are reference materials and books a problem?
5. Are there enough and well trained art lecturers?

6. Is accommodation (teaching space) a problem for art and art education courses?
7. Do market forces (buyers of art) affect the teaching of art and art education?
8. Do foreign buyers of art influence art creativity?
9. Does foreign training of artists and art educators affect (hinder) art creativity and art education that is geared to the construction of a national cultural identity?
10. Does art have any role in the construction of a national cultural identity?
11. Are there any other problems that hinder the teaching and learning of art and art education at the University?

Ministry of Education and Culture

1. When did the teaching of art and art education start in schools and colleges (including the University of Dar-Es-salaam)?
2. Why was this teaching started at this time?
3. What is the national policy on the development of art and art education?
4. What is the view of the Ministry of Education and Culture on the role of art and art education in the construction of a national cultural identity?
5. What is the view of the Ministry of Education and Culture on the influence of foreign art buyers on art and art education?
6. (How) Do foreign trained artists and art educators play their role through art and art education in the construction of a national cultural identity?
7. Do foreigners (tourists, traders, diplomats, etc.) and their cultural values, influence the construction of a national cultural identity?
8. What is the situation of the supply of art teaching materials, equipment and accommodation in schools and colleges?
10. How is the ministry involved in the development of art outside the schooling system?
11. Does the increasing multicultural/multi-identity values in the country (especially in cities) affect or influence the teaching of art

and art education? Does this too affect or influence the construction of a national cultural identity through art?

12. Are there any other problems that hinder the teaching and learning of art and art education in schools and colleges?
13. Are there any other problems that hinder the construction of a national cultural identity through art?

The Institute of Education

1. Are there any problems that you face as an Institute in the development of art curriculum for schools and colleges?
2. Do schools and colleges face problems in following and fulfilling the requirements of the art curriculum?
3. Do teachers and tutors find it difficult or easy to teach art using the curriculum you develop?
4. Do students find it hard or easy to learn what is called for by the art curriculum?
5. How far and in what ways are you influenced or controlled by the National policy on the development of art and art education?
6. Is the art curriculum (developed) community based?
7. How far is the curriculum related to national cultural issues?
8. Do you think art and art education taught using the art curriculum is able to aid the construction of a Tanzanian National Cultural Identity?
9. Do you think that foreign cultural values introduced into the Tanzanian culture by foreigners or through foreign training of Tanzanians affect or influence art and art education development in Tanzania?
10. Do you think such foreign cultural values do affect or influence the role of art as a constructor of national cultural identity?
11. How does the availability of art teachers affect or influence the development of art and art education in Tanzania?
12. How does the availability of art materials and art equipment affect or influence the development of art and art education in Tanzania?
13. How far and in what ways is the curriculum developed related

to traditional Tanzanian art heritage?

14. When was the first (after independence) national art curriculum developed (for schools and colleges)?
15. Why was this national art curriculum started then?

National Arts Council

1. What is the role of the National Arts Council in the development of art in Tanzania? When was this council started?
2. What is the role of art in the issue of constructing a national cultural identity?
3. How is the development of art in Tanzania affected or influenced by the increasing introduction of foreign cultural values into the Tanzanian culture by foreigners who are also the main buyers of Tanzanian art?
4. What is the role of the council in the development of art outside the formal schooling system?
5. How does the national policy on the development of art affect or influence the role of the Council in the development of art?
6. What is the effect or influence of market forces (sales of art works) on the development of a community based art?
7. What role does the National Arts Council play in rescuing art from foreign influence through dictatorial value standards of foreign buyers?
8. Is art able to be rescued from foreign cultural influence through foreign buyers? Rescued from the price tag?
9. Is national (community) based art (development) being affected or influenced by foreign trained artists?
10. Is art found (created) in rural (Tanzania) areas free from foreign influence?
11. Is contemporary Tanzanian art related to traditional Tanzanian art?
12. Do foreign buyers of art enhance or retard the development of art in Tanzania?
13. Do Makonde artists create art works that contribute toward the construction of a national cultural identity?

14. Is Makonde art development foreign influenced or locally influenced or both?

The National Museum

1. What is the role of that national museum in relation to art in Tanzania? When was this museum started? and Why?
2. What is the trend of art development; from traditional to contemporary? Is art being alienated from social issues?
3. Is contemporary art in Tanzania able to aid the construction of a national cultural identity?
4. Is the National Museum involved in the development of art in Tanzania?
5. Do contemporary artists in Tanzania learn about traditional art heritage through the National Museum?
6. Are contemporary artists being influenced by traditional art in their creativity?
7. Does the role of art in Traditional societies influence the development, creativity and role of art today?
8. How can art best be made to contribute toward the construction of a national cultural identity?
9. Who are the buyers of Tanzanian art?
10. Do these buyers influence the development and creativity of Tanzanian artists?
11. Are there any problems (obstacles) that hinder the development and role of the National Museum?
12. Does the ministry of education and culture art development policies influence, or affect, the development of the National Museum?

Nyumba Sanaa

1. What is the role of Nyumba Ya Sanaa in the development of art in Tanzania? When was this art centre started?
2. How does Nyumba ya Sanaa fund its undertakings?
3. Does Nyumba ya Sanaa depend on sales of art works for its existence?
4. Who are the main buyers of Nyumba ya Sanaa art works?

5. Do these art buyers affect or influence the development of art?
6. How are Nyumba ya Sanaa artists recruited and trained?
7. Does Nyumba ya Aanaa export its art works? What are the value standards of the buyers?
8. Is Nyumba ya Sanaa art creativity based on Tanzanian cultural issues?
9. Does Nyumba ya Sanaa act as a training centre for artists who later establish their own studios?
10. Does Nyumba ya Sanaa have any working links with the Ministry of Education and Culture?
11. Does Nyumba ya Sanaa have any links with the National Arts Council?
12. Does Nyumba ya Sanaa work in accordance with the national policy for the development of art?
13. Are there any problems that hinder the development of art at Nyumba ya Sanaa?
14. Is art created at Nyumba ya Sanaa able to contribute toward the construction of a national cultural identity?

Makonde Artists (Carvers)

1. How are the artists trained?
2. How do they develop their themes for their carvings?
3. Do the themes refer to cultural issues?
4. How are artists (carvers) organized?
5. Where do the artists sell their art works?
6. How do buyers select the art works they buy?
7. What are buyers after in selecting carvings for buying? What are their value standards?
8. Do buyers of art works affect, dictate, or influence the creativity of artists?
9. Do artists do whole sale export of art works? If yes, how are the works for export selected in the absence of the buyer?
10. Do the artists have some working links with the National Arts Council? If yes, how does this Council influence the working of the artists?
11. Do artists sell their work by themselves or through middlemen?

If they sell through middlemen, how do these middlemen judge what work is saleable and what is not?

12. Are there some types of carvings (theme-wise) that sell more than others at one particular time?
13. Do artists influence one another? or do they copy from one another for saleable themes or styles?
14. Do artists refer to foreign art styles through reference books etc. for inspiration or for other reasons?
15. Do artists get funding or any other support from the government?
16. How and where do artists get their materials and working equipment?
17. Do artists have any sense of the role of art as a means of constructing a national cultural identity?

Private Galleries and Curio Shops

(i) **Private Galleries**

1. Where do you get art works for your gallery?
2. How do you select works for your gallery? Do you select only saleable art works or works that you think best reflect Tanzania national cultural issues?
3. Do you have guidelines that lead you in selecting works for exhibiting (displaying) in your gallery?
4. Do you organize one man or group exhibitions for artists' works? If yes, who are the artists? Where do they come from? and how are they selected?
5. How do you price the art works in your gallery?
6. Is the pricing done by the artists alone? Is it done by the owners of the gallery or is it done in collaboration between the two parties?
7. Do you think the buyers of art works influence the artist in his or her creativity?
8. Do artists paint, draw, sculpt, etc. only works with themes or styles that sell most at one particular period of time?
9. Are artists free from the buyers' influence in the process of creating art works?

10. Do you think Tanzanian art can help in constructing a national cultural identity?
11. Does your gallery have any links with the National Arts Council? If yes, what type of link?
12. Is there any censoring in selecting what works to be exhibited in your gallery? If yes, how are other works excluded and others included? Is the censoring government directed or personal?
13. Do you think the infiltration of foreign cultural values in the Tanzanian culture influence art creativity?
14. Are there any other problems that hinder the establishment and development of private galleries? If there are any problems, how can they be overcome?

(ii) **Curio Shops**

1. How do you collect art works for sale in your shop?
2. Who are the buyers of art works you collect?
3. What type of works sell most? Why do you think these works sell most?
4. How do you price art works in your shop?
5. Who influences your pricing system?
6. Do buyers of art works (in your shop) influence the way you select works for your shop?
7. Do buyers ask for duplicates or similar versions of art works that have been sold previously? If yes, how do you go about looking for these works under demand?
8. Do you export art works abroad? If yes, to what countries? How do you select works for export? Does the foreign buyer have any say in selecting works for export? How do you price works for export?
9. Do themes and styles in art works reflect Tanzanian cultural issues and values?
10. Do you think Tanzanian art does help the construction of a national cultural identity?
11. Is art in Tanzanian changing? If yes, what is the direction of change? Is art getting more involved in reflecting on Tanzanian cultural issues or is it getting alienated from dealing or reflecting on national cultural issues and values?

12. How, do you think, can art be made to contribute more on the construction of a national cultural identity?
13. Are there any problems in the establishment and development of curio shops? If any, how can these problems be overcome?

APPENDIX B

Description of respondents

Professor E. Jengo; Certificate in Fine Art; Diploma in Education (East Africa), BSc, Instructional Technology (Kent); MA, Art Education (S.G.W.U.).

Professor Jengo is currently the head of the Art Sub-department, Department of Art, Music and Theater, University of Dar-Es-salaam. Jengo has in the past worked as the head of the Art, Music and Theater and as the Associate Dean-Academic of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Dar-Es-salaam. Before joining the University of Dar-Es-salaam, Jingo, at different times, taught art, art education, and many other subjects in Tanzania's pre-secondary schools (middle schools), secondary schools and teachers' colleges. At the University of Dar-Es-salaam, professor Jengo teaches drawing, painting, art history, audio visual (instructional) technology and art education.

Professor P.O. Mlama; BA, MA, PhD (Theater Arts).

Professor Mlama is currently the Chief Academic officer of the University of Dar-Es-salaam. In the past, Mlama has worked as the head of the Theater sub-department, and also as the head of Art Music and Theater, University of Dar-Es-salaam. Professor Mlama also served as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Dar-Es-salaam. Professor Mlama teaches theater arts.

Mr. H. Nakanoga; BA; Post Graduate Diploma in Textile Design.

Mr. Nakanoga is a lecturer of Textile design in the Art Sub-Department, (Department of Art Music and Theater), University of Dar-Es-salaam. Before joining the University of Dar-Es-salaam, Nakanoga worked for some time as a textile designer at the Friendship Textile Company in Dar-Es-salaam, Tanzania.

Mr. E. Muhando; BA ; MA (Creative writing).

Mr. Enea Muhando is presently teaching linguistics at Morogoro Teachers College, Morogoro, Tanzania. Mr. Muhando also taught in many other schools in Tanzania before joining Morogoro Teachers' College. Muhando has also, in the past, served as a board member of the Tanzania Arts Council.

Mr. P. Mwasanga; Certificate in Fine Art; BA (Fine Art)
Mr. Mwasanga is presently heading the Fine Art Department at the Tanzania Arts Council. Mr. Mwasanga has also worked with Kibo Paper Industries of Dar-Es-salaam, Tanzania, as a packaging designer before joining the Tanzania Arts Council.

Mr. Mbwambo; BA; MA (Art Education)
Mr. Mbwambo is at present working with the Dar-Es-salaam Region Education Office in Tanzania as an inspector of schools. Before his present post, Mr. Mbwambo taught art in many schools in Tanzania, before joining the Ministry of Education and Culture as an Art Inspector, based at the Ministry's head quarters in Dar-Es-salaam.

Mr. D. Kafwa; Certificate in Theater Arts.
Mr. Kafwa is presently the Production Manager of Nyumba ya Sanaa Arts Center in Dar-Es-salaam, Tanzania.

Dr. P. Mmes BA; MA; pd (Anthropology).
Dr. Mmes is at present the Director of Makumbusho Village Museum in Dar-Es-salaam, Tanzania. The Makumbusho Village Museum is a department within the Tanzania National Museum.

Mr. Jumbani; Certificate in Education; BA; MA (Art Education)
Mr. Jumbani is currently a Fine Art Tutor and Vice Principal at Butimba Teachers College in Mwanza, Tanzania. Mr. Jumbani taught in many schools in Tanzania, before joining Butimba Teachers College.

Mr. Macha; Certificate in Education, Certificate in Fine Art; BA (Fine Art).
Mr. Macha is a Fine Art Tutor at Morogoro Teachers College in Tanzania. Before joining Morogoro Teachers College, Macha taught in primary schools and Teachers Colleges in Tanzania.

Mr. Kundy; Certificate in Education; Certificate in Fine Art; BA (Art Education)
Mr. Kundy is a fine art curriculum developer at the Institute of Education in

Dar-Es-salaam, Tanzania. Kundy in the head of the Fine Art Department at the Institute.

Mr. J. Masanja; Certificate in Education; Certificate in Fine Art; BA; MA (Fine Art).
Mr. Masanja is a lecturer in Fine Art at the University of Dar-Es-salaam in Tanzania. Before joining the University of Dar-Es-salaam, Mr.Masanja taught in primary schools and Teachers Colleges in Tanzania.

Mr. F. Sika; Certificate in Education ; Certificate in Fine Art.
Mr. Sika is a Fine Art Tutor at Morogoro Teachers College in Tanzania. Previously, Mr. Sika taught in primary and secondary schools.

APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Ref: No. AB3/3(B)
Date: 24th May, 1995
To: Principal Secretary
Ministry of Education and Culture

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you Prof/Dr./Mr./Mrs/Miss/Ms Leonard C. Mwenesi ~~who is a/are~~ bonafide academic member(s) of staff/student(s) of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is/are at the moment conducting research. Our staff members and students undertake research activities every year especially during the long vacation.

In accordance with a government circular letter Ref. No. MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July, 1980 the Vice-Chancellor was empowered to issue research clearances to the staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the Government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology.

I therefore request you to grant the above mentioned member(s) of our University community any help that may facilitate him/her/them to achieve research objectives. What is required is your permission for him/her/them to see and talk to the ~~leaders and~~ members of your institutions in connection with his/her/their research.

The title of the research in question is The Role of Art and Education in the construction of a Tanzanian Cultural Art Identity.

The period for which this permission has been granted is from May, 1994 to January, 1995 and will cover the following areas/offices ....

Should some of these areas/offices be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise him/her/them as to which alternative areas/offices could be visited. In case you may require further information please contact the ~~Research~~ and Publications Office. Tel. 43500 Ext. 2021

Prof. [illegible]. L. Luhanga
VICE-CHANCELLOR

UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Ref: No.[illegible]....................
Date:..24th May, 1994....................
To: Director..........................
Institute of Education
....

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you~~[illegible]~~r./Mr./~~Mrs/Miss~~/Ms...Leonard C. Mwenesi.......................................
....

who is a/~~are~~ bonafide academic member(s) of staff/~~student~~(s) of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is/~~are~~ at the moment conducting research. Our staff members and students undertake research activities every year especially during the long vacation.

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I therefore request you to grant the above mentioned member(s) of our University community any help that may facilitate him/~~her/them~~ to achieve research objectives. What is required is your permission for him/~~her/them~~ to see and talk to the leaders and members of your institutions in connection with his/~~her/their~~ research.

The title of the research in question is The Role of Art and Art Education in the Construction of a Tanzanian Cultural Identity..........
....
....

The period for which this permission has been granted is from ..May 1994...... to..January 1995...and will cover the following areas/offices..........Institute of Education..................
....

Should some of these areas/offices be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise him/~~her/them~~ as to which alternative areas/offices could be visited. In case you may require further information please contact the Research and Publications Office, Tel. 43500 Ext. 2021.

VICE CHANCELLOR

Prof. M. L. Luhanga
VICE-CHANCELLOR

UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM.

Ref: No...AB3/3(B)................
Date:.....24th.May,.1994.........
To:.......Nkurugenzi..............
..........Nyumba.ya.Sanaa.........

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you ~~Prof/Dr.~~/Mr./ ~~Mrs/Miss/Ms~~...Leonard.C..Mwansasi.....................
....
who is a/~~are~~ bonafide academic member(s) of staff/~~student(s)~~ of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is/~~are~~ at the moment conducting research. Our staff members and students undertake research activities every year especially during the long vacation.

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The title of the research in question is .The Role of Art and Art .Education in the Construction of a Tanzanian Cultural Identity.
....
....

The period for which this permission has been granted is from ..May.1994...... to January, 1995...and will cover the followi areas/offices..........Nyumba ya Sanaa..
....

Should some of these areas/offices be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise him/~~her/them~~ as to which alternative areas/offices could be visited. In case you may require further information please contact the Research and Publications Office.
Tel. 43500 Ext. 2021

VICE CHANCELLOR
UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
BOX 35091
DAR ES SALAAM

Prof. N. L. Luhanga
VICE-CHANCELLOR

UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Ref: No. AB3/3(B)
Date: 24th May, 1994
To: Regional Development Director
Dar es Salaam

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you Mr. Leonard C. Mwenesi

who is a/are bonafide academic member(s) of staff/ of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is/are at the moment conducting research. Our staff members and students undertake research activities every year especially during the long vacation.

In accordance with a government circular letter Ref. No. MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July, 1980 the Vice-Chancellor was empowered to issue research clearances to the staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the Government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology.

I therefore request you to grant the above mentioned member(s) of our University community any help that may facilitate him/ to achieve research objectives. What is required is your permission for him/ to see and talk to the leaders and members of your institutions in connection with his/her/their research.

The title of the research in question is The Role of Art Education in the Construction of a Tanzanian Cultural Identity.

The period for which this permission has been granted is from May 1994 to January, 1995 and will cover the following areas/offices Makonde Artists (Carvers) Private Galleries and Curio Shops

Should some of these areas/offices be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise him/ as to which alternative areas/offices could be visited. In case you may require further information please contact the Research and Publications Office Tel. 43500 Ext. 2021

Prof. M. L. Luhanga
VICE-CHANCELLOR

UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Ref: No. AB3/3(B)
Date: 24th May, 1994
To: The Director
The National Museum

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you ~~Prof/Dr.~~/Mr./~~Mrs/Miss/Ms~~ ...... Leonard C. Mwanasi ....

who is a/~~are~~ bonafide academic member(s) of staff/~~student(s)~~ of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is/~~are~~ at the moment conducting research. Our staff members and students undertake research activities every year especially during the long vacation.

In accordance with a government circular letter Ref. No. MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July, 1980 the Vice-Chancellor was empowered to issue research clearances to the staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the Government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology.

I therefore request you to grant the above mentioned member(s) of our University community any help that may facilitate him/~~her/them~~ to achieve research objectives. What is required is your permission for him/~~her/them~~ to see and talk to the leaders and members of your institutions in connection with his/~~hers/theirs~~ research.

The title of the research in question is The Role of Art and Art Education in the Construction of a Tanzanian Cultural Identity.

The period for which this permission has been granted is from May, 1994 to January 1995 and will cover the following areas/offices: National Museum

Should some of these areas/offices be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise him/~~her/them~~ as to which alternative areas/offices could be visited. In case you may require further information please contact the Research and Publications Office. Tel. 43500 Ext. 2021

VICE CHANCELLOR
UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
BOX 35091
DAR ES SALAAM

Prof. M. L. Luhanga
VICE-CHANCELLOR

UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Ref: No. AB3/3(B)..................
Date:.... 24th May, 1994..........
To:...... Regional Development Director
.... Mwanza...................

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

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....

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UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
BOX 35091
DAR ES SALAAM

Prof. M. L. Luhanga
VICE-CHANCELLOR

UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Ref: No. AB3/3(B) ....
Date: .. 24th May, 1994 ....
To: .... The Director ....
.... National . Arts Council ....

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

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Prof. M. L. Luhanga
VICE-CHANCELLOR

UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Ref: No. AB3/3(B)
Date: 24th May, 1994
To: Chief Administrative Officer
University of Dar es Salaam

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

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Prof. M.L. Luhanga
VICE-CHANCELLOR

UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Ref: No. AB3/3(B).................
Date:...24th May, 1994...........
To:. Regional Development Director
Morogoro
....

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

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Prof. M. L. Luhanga
VICE-CHANCELLOR

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Cables: ELIMU, DAR ES SALAAM
Telephone 27903 & 27211
In reply please quote:

Ref. No. ~~ED/A3/10/RP/111/49~~

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
P. O. BOX 9121
DAR ES SALAAM

Date 14/10/1994

TO: Whom it may concern.

RE: RESEARCH CLEARANCE FOR MR. LEONARD C. MWENESI

The Ministry of Education and Culture has granted permission to Mr. Mwenesi, a Ph.D. student at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, to conduct research on THE ROLE OF ART AND ART EDUCATION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A TANZANIAN CULTUREAL IDENTITY in the relevant departments, parastatals and institutions under this ministry.

You are requested to kindly help him collect the needed data from your establishment and facilitate the successful completion of his field research.

Yours Sincerely,

Dr. Frederick E. Mbeo
for: PRINCIPAL SECRETARY

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA

OFISI YA WAZIRI MKUU NA MAKAMU WA KWANZA WA RAIS

MKOA WA MWANZA
Anwani - Simu: "REGCOM".
Simu Namba: 40581.
Unapojibu tafadhali taja:

Ofisi ya Mkuu wa Mkoa.
S.L.P. 119,
MWANZA.

Kumbukumbu Namba: E.10/30/II/39

4 Julai, 1994

KWA YEYOTE ANAYEHUSIKA
MKOA WA MWANZA

YAH: KIBALI CHA KUFANYA UTAFITI MR. LEONARD C. MWENESI KUTOKA CHUO KIKUU CHA DAR ES SALAAM

Ninamtambulisha kwenu Mr. L.C. Mwenesi, Mwalimu toka Chuo Kikuu cha D'Salaam ambaye ameruhusiwa kufanya utafiti katika Taasisi/Shule/Vyuo mbalimbali hapa Mkoani Mwanza.

2. Utafiti wake (Title of the research) unahusu:-
THE ROLE OF ART AND ART EDUCATION IN THE CONSTRUCTION
OF A TANZANIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY.

3. Amepewa kibali cha kuendesha utafiti huo kati ya kipindi cha kuanzia tarehe 4/7/94 hadi Januari 31, 1995.

4. Tafadhali apewe msaada na ushirikiano atakaohitaji kulingana na sheria na taratibu zilizopo.

4/7/94
(J.R. Gosbert)
kny MKURUGENZI WA MAENDELEO (M),
MWANZA

K.n.y. MKURUGENZI WA MAENDELEO (M
MKOA WA MWANZA (XX)

Nakala kwa: 1. Mkuu wa Wilaya,
MWANZA - kwa taarifa.

2. Mkuu wa Chuo,
Chuo cha Ualimu Butimba,
MWANZA - Msaada wenu kwake utahitajika.

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA

OFISI YA WAZIRI MKUU NA MAKAMU WA KWANZA WA RAIS

MKOA WA DAR ES SALAAM
Anwani ya Simu:
Simu nambari: 63591/3
Unapojibu tafadhali taja:
Kumbukumbu Nambari MD/R.20/I VOL

Ofisi ya Mkuu wa Mkoa,
S.L.P. 5429,
Dar es Salaam.

28 Novemba, 1994

Maafisa wa Wilaya,
KINONDONI NA ILALA.

YAH: UTAFITI - NDUGU LEONARD MWENESI

Mtajwa hapo juu ni mhadhini kutoka Chuo Kikuu cha Dar es salaam.

Ameruhusiwa kufanya utafiti kuhusu "The Role of Art Education in the Construction of a Tanzanian Cultural Identity" katika Mkoa wa Dar es salaam kuanzia tarehe 28/11/94 hadi tarehe 31/1/95.

Maeneo ambao anahitaji kufanyia utafiti wake ni "Makonde Artists (Carvers), Private Galleries and Curio shops".

Tafadhali mpatie msaada atakaohitaji.

Ignatius

(G.I. Nombo)
Kny: MKURUGENZI MWENDESHAJI (M)
DAR ES SALAAM.

Nakala kwa: Vice Chancellor, ✓
University of Dar es salaam,
S.L.P. 35091,
DAR ES SALAAM.

" " Ndugu Leonard Mwenesi,
DAR ES SALAAM.

Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania

OFISI YA WAZIRI MKUU NA MAKAMU WA KWANZA WA RAIS

MKOA WA MOROGORO

Ofisi ya Mkuu wa Mkoa
S.L.P. 650,
MOROGORO.

Tarehe 11/9/1994

Kumb. Na. A.20/32 VOL.V/

Mkuu wa Wilaya,
S.L.P. 581,
MOROGORO.

KWA YEYOTE ANAYEHUSIKA
mpatie msaada unaotakiwa ND. L. Mwenesi – yeye ni mwalimu mwenzetu, maelezo anayo. kuhusu utafiti wake.

M. M. P. SALUM
REGIONAL [illegible] OFFICER
MOROGORO
13/9/94.

UTAFITI/RESEARCH

Namtambulisha kwako Ndugu Leonard S. Mwenesi ambaye ni Mtafiti anafanya utafiti juu ya The Role of Art and Art Education in the Construction of a Tanzanian Cultural Identity.

Ofisi hii imetoa kibali cha kufanya utafiti katika sehemu zifuatazo Shule za Msingi, Sekondari School, na Vyuo katika Mkoa wa Morogoro.

Tafadhali apatiwe msaada anaouhitaji.

S. T. SIJAONA
KNY: MKURUGENZI WA MAENDELEO MKOA
MOROGORO

WALIMU WAKUU WOTE
MANISPAA MOROG.

Tafadhali mruhusu ndg Leonard C. Mwenesi kufanya utafiti katika shule yako kufuatana na mahitaji yake.

Ni matumaini yangu kuwa utamsaidia kila matatizo yoyote

O.S. Keto — (SEO)

Kny. AFISA ELIMU NA UTAMADUNI
S.L.P. 166
MOROGORO

13/9/94